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WIFE.*

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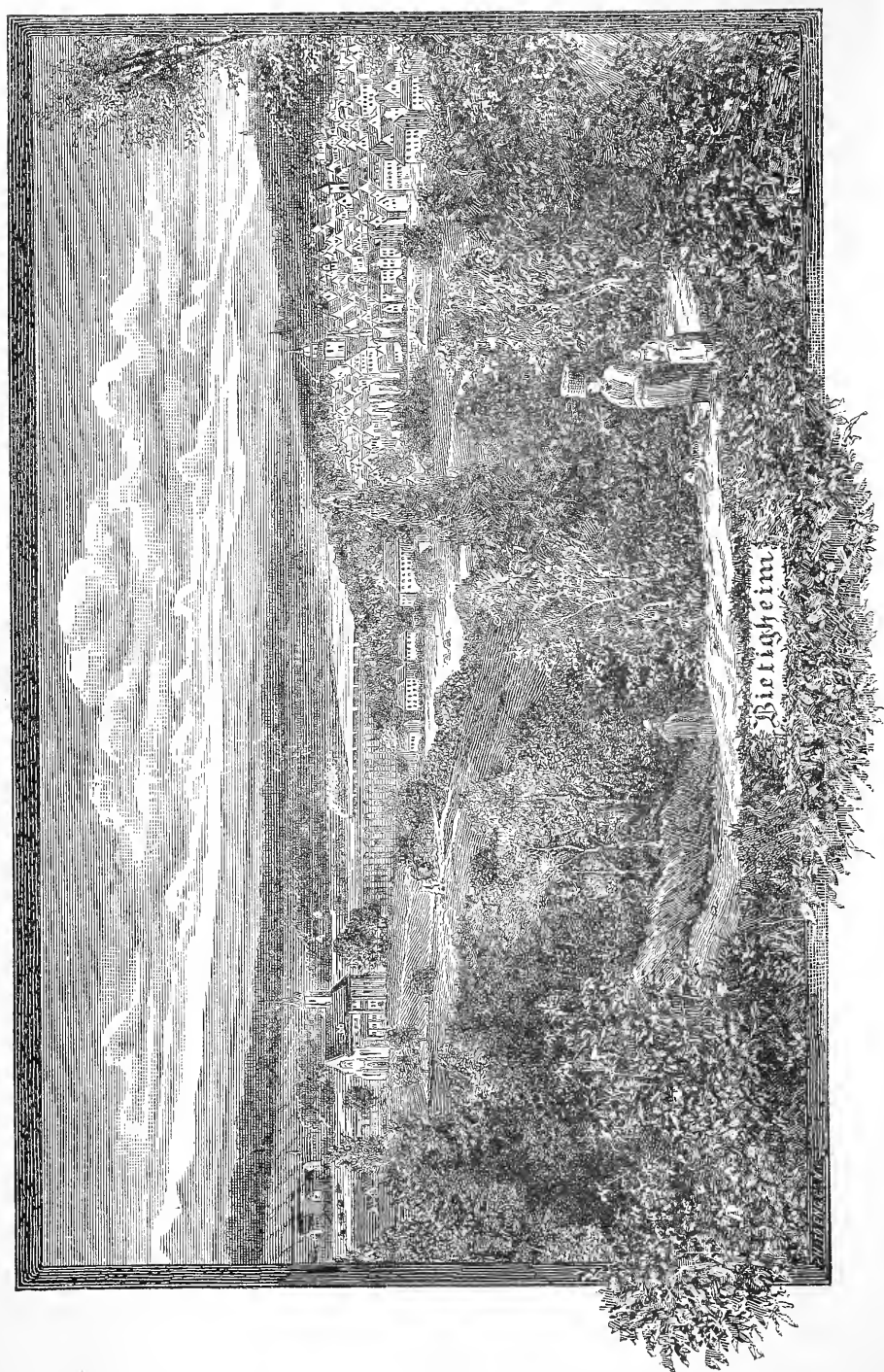
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*Will Carleton* says: "It retains all the peculiar spicy flavor of her former works, and is better than any of them, because of its alternate pathos and humor."

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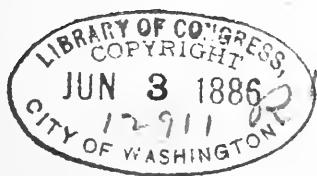


Bietigheim

# BIETIGHEIM."

Yet, I doubt not thro' the ages one increasing purpose runs,  
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns."

—*Locksley Hall.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

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DENVER, November 20, 1932.

Hon. JOHN W. MINOR,

Member of Congress, 3d Col. Dist.

DEAR SIR: The undersigned, a committee appointed at the mass-meeting of the citizens of Denver, held on the 14th inst., to devise means for relieving the distress of the poor and laboring classes of this city during the coming winter, have the honor to state that one of the plans already decided upon for raising a public Relief Fund is the organization of a course of ten lectures to be delivered at the Denver Opera House during the winter months, and upon dates to be hereafter agreed upon. In this plan we ask you to co-operate with us by permitting the announcement of your name as that of one of the lecturers of the course; and while leaving to yourself the choice, we yet venture to suggest, in view of your honorable connection with the events which marked the memorable war of 1890-91, and your careful study of the causes leading to and the results ensuing from that great struggle, that one or more lectures on that subject, including some of your personal reminiscences, will not only prove a source of general entertainment and interest, but will serve to enkindle anew in the

minds of the youth of this generation a vivid recollection of the patriotic zeal, patient courage, and historic achievements of their forefathers, when bearing the Stars and Stripes against a foreign foe on foreign soil.

Requesting the favor of an early reply, we have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully yours,

H. SIBLEY MOORE, Chairman,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
DWIGHT F. PECK,		
SIGMUND KOBLER,		

VEVEY VILLA, November 22, 1932.

MESSRS. H. SIBLEY MOORE, DWIGHT F. PECK, and  
SIGMUND KOBLER,

Citizens' Relief Committee, Denver.

GENTLEMEN : In reply to your communication of the 20th inst., I beg to express to you my acknowledgments for the compliment which it implies, and to state that I shall be happy to co-operate with you by the delivery of three lectures on the subject suggested, on any dates between the 23d of December and the 15th of January next. As I leave for Washington within the next ten days in order to be present at the opening of the Session (expecting, however, to return to Denver for the Christmas holidays), I would request you to inform me as early as possible of the dates assigned me. My lectures will be entitled " Bietigheim : I. Its Causes, II. Its Cost, III. Its Consequences," and I shall endeavor to review the political and social causes and effects

of the momentous struggle of forty years ago, bringing in, as occasion offers, some of my personal recollections of a campaign which startled the world and sealed the downfall of the greatest military power of the nineteenth century.

I am, gentlemen, very truly yours,

JOHN W. MINOR, M.C.

# DENVER OPERA HOUSE

(WINTER SEASON, 1932-33)

The Citizens' Relief Committee have the honor to announce that

## HON. JOHN W. MINOR

M. C.

has consented to deliver a course of three Lectures on

## "BIETIGHEIM"

- I. ITS CAUSES . . . . . DEC. 26th.
- II. ITS COST . . . . . JAN<sup>y</sup> 5th.
- III. ITS CONSEQUENCES . . . . . " 12th.

COURSE TICKETS . . . . . \$2.00

SINGLE LECTURES . . . . . 75

*Proceeds to be devoted to the relief of the poor of Denver.*

LECTURES BEGIN AT . . 7.30 P.M.

H. SIBLEY MOORE,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
DWIGHT F. PECK,		
SIGMUND KOBLER,		

(From the *Denver Daily Times*, December 26th, 1932.)

## TO-NIGHT'S LECTURE.

WE take occasion to remind the readers of the *Times* that Hon. John W. Minor will deliver at the Opera House this evening the first of his promised series of lectures in aid of the Charitable Relief Fund. The distinguished lecturer has chosen for his topic, under the title of "Bietigheim," the events connected with the great war of 1890-91, and will treat this evening especially of the causes, political and otherwise, which combined to bring about the stupendous conflict culminating in a victory so glorious yet so dearly bought ; reserving for his two subsequent lectures the narration of the thrilling events of the campaign, in which he participated as a line officer, and a glance at the important social and political changes wrought by that memorable crisis in the world's history.

In this connection, although Mr. Minor is well known to the citizens of Denver, among whom he has dwelt, honored and respected, for over a quarter of a century past, we deem it not out of place to reproduce here a short sketch of his life, which we find in the Congressional Directory for the current session—viz. :

JOHN W. MINOR was born at Dayton, O., September 25th, 1870, and received a common school education ; in 1883, on the death of his father, an Episcopal clergyman, he was sent by his mother to a relative at Kansas City ; found employment in the law-office of Clark & Benzinger, and later as

law-copyist and clerk with Hon. John S. Darrall, devoting himself in leisure moments to studying for admission to the bar ; on the breaking out of hostilities in the spring of 1890 was commissioned second lieutenant in the Fourth Kansas Infantry, went to Europe with that command, and participated in all its engagements ; was successively brevetted first lieutenant at Hoheneck and captain at Colmar for gallant conduct ; while in command of his company during a momentary repulse on the third day's fighting at Bietigheim was severely wounded, and carried within the enemy's lines ; was restored to his friends under the Articles of Surrender after the battle, and as lieutenant-colonel of his decimated battalion was enabled to rejoin his command in season to participate with it in the famous triumphal review of the allied armies at Paris in June, 1891 ; returned home with his command, and resuming his law studies at Kansas City, was admitted to practise in 1893, and shortly thereafter to partnership with his former patron, Mr. Darrall ; was elected in 1895 to the Kansas Legislature, and served three successive terms there ; was appointed United States District Attorney for Colorado in 1904 by President Fairchild, and removed to Denver, where he has since resided ; in 1912 resigned District Attorneyship and was elected Mayor of Denver ; in 1916 was elected State Senator, and in 1920 President of the Colorado Senate. In 1924 went to Europe with his family, revisiting most of the scenes of his former campaigns, and on his return in 1926 was elected as a Nationalist

to the Seventieth Congress ; was successively thereafter elected to the Seventy-first and Seventy-second Congresses, and was re-elected to the Seventy-third Congress as a Nationalist, receiving 26,079 votes against 23,476 votes for Hardcastle, Democrat.





# BIETIGHEIM."

ITS

CAUSES, COST, AND CONSEQUENCES.

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## I.

### ITS CAUSES.

IN tracing, so far as our own country is concerned, the events which led to the crisis of 1890, it is not necessary to go farther back than five or six years—that is, to the time when the Republican Party, after holding the reins of Government for a quarter of a century, blotting out negro slavery from the statute-books, and laying forever to rest the pernicious doctrine of State Rights, finally fell from power through the disgust created in the popular mind by the aspirations and jealousies of its leaders. From the inauguration of President Cleveland in the spring of 1885 dates the beginning of an era of real reunion between the North and South. With the return of the Democratic Party to power the old sectional feeling which, since the earliest days, had been more or less a barrier to national unity, forever disappeared, and there can be no better proof of the union of sentiment which ex-

isted at that period than that represented in Wallace's historical painting in the Senate Chamber at Washington, entitled "The Burial of General Grant," where troops from Massachusetts and New York are to be seen marching side by side with troops from Virginia and Georgia, and where a host of Confederate veterans, headed by their former commander, Johnston, are portrayed following their departed conqueror to his last resting-place.

To one closely studying the politics of that day it is of great interest to note the development of the struggle between a deep-rooted sense of allegiance to party on the one hand, and an independent devotion to purity in politics, without regard to party, on the other. It was the latter sentiment that placed Mr. Cleveland in the chair, and it was his tacit acknowledgment of that fact that animated his entire administration. His manly and determined stand on the question of Civil Service Reform, and his bold repudiation of the baneful Jacksonian theory of victors and spoils, enabled him to free himself from the worst elements of the party that nominated him, to rally in their stead to his support a large and respectable following, including many of his former opponents, and to lay the foundation of that great national party which has since controlled the Government. With all the more admiration must this important step toward political reform be regarded when it is remembered under what bitter attacks by his own party and harassing foreign complications it was carried out during the latter half of President Cleveland's administration. The Panama Canal imbroglio brought

about by De Lesseps's disappointed vanity, the troublesome question in regard to the Sandwich Islands Protectorate, and the imminent danger of a costly war with China growing out of the persecution of Christian missionaries, combined to distract public attention from home politics and the conduct of internal affairs. Yet, thanks to the President's common-sense and firmness and to the prudence and sagacity of his advisers, all of these questions were successively solved in a manner satisfactory to the national honor; and when the famous National Convention, composed of delegates chosen from every Congressional district in the United States, without regard to former political connections or party ties, assembled at Louisville in June, 1888, to select a candidate for the Presidency, the enthusiasm and unanimity with which the candidacy was offered to President Cleveland was only equalled by the popular regret which was felt on his announcing his refusal to stand for a second term.

About this time, too, an enhanced value began to be put upon the rights and privileges of American citizenship.\* Thinking people commenced to

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\* The privilege and franchise of American citizenship should be granted with care, and extended to those only who intend in good faith to assume its duties and responsibilities when attaining its privileges and benefits; it should be withheld from those who merely go through the forms of naturalization with the intent of escaping the duties of their original allegiance without taking upon themselves those of their new status, or who may acquire the rights of American citizenship for no other than a hostile purpose toward their original governments. These evils have had many flagrant illustrations.—*President Cleveland's Message of 1885.*

doubt the wisdom of longer leaving our doors wide open to the emigration of the world, and of receiving with open arms and without let or hindrance all the impoverished elements of overcrowded Europe.

It became only too evident that our naturalization laws had been shamefully prostituted to political purposes. Hordes of social demagogues who had been thrust out as firebrands from Germany, Austria, and Russia, and possessing only a sufficient smattering of knowledge to render them dangerous among ignorant working people, were availing themselves of American citizenship, either with the avowed purpose of returning, passport in hand, to their native countries to resume their seditious work, or to remain and stir up social strife in the larger cities of the land which had adopted them. The attempted general uprising of workingmen in 1887, on the anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx, the founder of the International Society, while it proved futile, and resulted in the summary execution of the thirteen conspirators who were proven to have organized it, yet served a good purpose in compelling public attention to the pressing need of a restriction upon naturalization and foreign immigration. The country was, moreover, becoming too rapidly peopled; a steady stream of Germans, Scandinavians, and Irish was flowing westward from the Atlantic seaports to the Rocky Mountain regions; corporations composed principally of far-seeing English capitalists had managed quietly to pre-empt immense tracts of fertile territory from

the public domain ; \* it began to be frequently asked in the newspapers and at public meetings whether our forefathers, the founders of this republic, had ever calculated the full extent to which the poor and oppressed of all the world would ultimately avail themselves of the generous offer of a home and protection from tyranny.† Presently these casual inquiries took the form of a general call for legislation to amend the evil. The National Party's platform of 1888 demands a residence of ten years and the payment of a poll tax as requirements for a foreigner's naturalization. A proposition of this character was, in fact, brought before the Senate at its ensuing session, and would no doubt have been promptly acted upon had not, at that juncture, events of far greater moment monopolized the attention of Congress. But the voice of the

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\* WASHINGTON, December 8th, 1885.—In the Senate to-day a memorial was presented by the New Hampshire Legislature, pointing out that non-residents, aliens, principally British subjects, owned 20,000,000 acres of public lands in New Hampshire, and urging the necessity of legislation to deal with such purchases.

† IMMIGRATION—CHANGED SENTIMENT.

It is a very striking circumstance that the great foreign immigration to the United States, which formerly was our common boast, begins now to be regarded by a large part of the people, in the older communities more especially, with very different feelings. Instead of swelling with pride at the thought that the Republic offers an asylum for the poor and oppressed of every land, they are asking themselves whether the welfare of those already here does not require more discrimination as to who shall be invited.—*New York Sun*, January 28th, 1886.

people, foreign born as well as native, was outspoken and strong in declaring that the time had come when the guards stationed at the doors of American citizenship must be strengthened, and a warning be sent over to the peasantry of Europe that in future they would be welcomed only on more stringent conditions.

In material matters the country had prospered during the period which we are now considering. The high protective tariff which, under the Republican *régime*, had fostered enormous monopolies, with regularly recurring seasons of delusive prosperity, of overproduction, of strikes, stoppages, and failures, and then of apparent prosperity again, had finally to give way to a more moderate scale of entry duties, enabling foreign wares to compete fairly on their own merits with our domestic products. Throughout the Southern States there was especially noticeable an increased tolerance of sentiment and a marked growth of manufacturing enterprises. The effects of schooling began to be apparent among the negro population, who disappointed the expectations of many by proving themselves, for the most part, orderly and industrious citizens in the towns, and good workers in the rural districts. The spirit of wild speculation which had possessed the country after the close of the Secession period received its death-blow in the disclosures made upon the trial of the swindlers who had inveigled General Grant and his entire family to their financial ruin, and in the preventive legislation enacted immediately thereafter. The paper

fortunes of the Goulds, the Vanderbilts, and the scores of other reputed millionaires of that day gradually shrunk to their real values, hundreds of other supposed capitalists passed quietly out of sight, and a healthier view on the question of money-getting—in fact, of morals in general, took possession of the public mind. It was the inevitable reaction from the extravagance and corruption invariably following a costly and successful war.

The result of the Presidential election of 1888 fairly astonished the country. No less than five electoral tickets had been placed in nomination. It was impossible, even up to the day of election, to predict the result, as the National Party had never yet polled its strength in a Presidential contest, while both the Democrats and Republicans kept up their customary blowing of trumpets about the walls of their political Jericho, so that no one knew what to expect. But when the result was announced, it was found that the Democrats had carried New Jersey, South Carolina, and Mississippi, the Republicans Rhode Island and Vermont, and the Nationals all the remaining States, with three hundred and ninety-one electoral votes out of a total of four hundred and twenty-four. It was a scathing rebuke to political schemers and corruptionists, an unmistakable declaration that the people were tired of “machines” and “bosses,” and had once more determined to govern themselves. The liquor power, too, had become so insolent in its demeanor and so corrupting in its influence on politics that there was a revolt of public sentiment

against it, both North and South. The triumph of the National Party proved a death-blow to this domination as well. So overwhelming was the victory that the defeated parties, in the practical American spirit, accepted it with a good grace, and at once set about turning the new order of things to the best account possible. All patriotic people rejoiced in the unity of sentiment existing throughout the country, as well as in the consciousness that the minority, though divided on most issues, was yet large enough, when united in case of need, to make a vigorous opposition to any arbitrary or unconstitutional acts which the victorious majority might attempt.

But no such attempt was to be made. On the 4th of March, 1889, when President Bayard delivered his inaugural, not a cloud was visible on the political horizon. The voices of factions were stilled, peace and prosperity prevailed, and not even to the most sagacious observer was there any portent visible of the storm of excitement which within a twelvemonth was to burst upon the land. Relieved of the pressure of the overwhelming hordes of office-seekers, who under previous administrations had been wont to monopolize the attention of the Executive, the President and his Cabinet were enabled to devote their time and energies to the consideration of the more important issues which presented themselves, such as the Public Lands and Forestry questions, the pitiable condition of the Northwestern Indian tribes, then being rapidly decimated by consumption and small-pox ;



the feasibility of bridging the Mississippi at New Orleans ; the organization of the militia forces of the respective States upon a national basis ; and the devising of further means for extending our foreign trade through the agency of the consular service. These and other important measures would doubtless have taken form and shape in the President's ensuing message to Congress, when, suddenly, out of the midst of the clear sky fell the thunderbolt which awoke the country to the responsibility that was upon it, and sent the cry for reparation or war ringing like a tocsin throughout the land.

The act which provoked the first outburst of popular feeling was undoubtedly one of wanton cruelty and aggression. One Christian Reinhardt, a native of Germany, had emigrated to this country at the age of nineteen, and settled at Carson, Nev., where, five years later, he was made a citizen. He had also managed to amass sufficient money to purchase a modest home, and in the summer of 1889 revisited his birthplace, Mülheim-on-the-Rhine, for the purpose of bringing back his widowed mother and only sister to share with him his home and fortunes in the West. Immediately after his arrival he was ordered to report as a deserter from the German army. In reply he showed his passport as an American citizen. He was arrogantly informed that "that paper" was of no avail to him there, and that he must pay a fine or report for arrest within three days. He at once communicated the facts to the United States Consul at Cologne, who

in turn telegraphed them to Mr. Pendleton, our Minister at Berlin, who had already given much attention to such questions.\* As no diplomatic action could be taken in the matter until an arrest had been actually made, or a fine collected, the Consul was instructed to go personally to Mülheim, and report promptly all that occurred. On the fourth day Reinhardt was, in the presence of the Consul, taken by force from his mother's house, by a file of soldiers, and, upon offering resistance to the arrest, was shot dead, passport in hand. The Consul, who denounced the act as a cold-blooded murder, and demanded the immediate arrest of the soldier, was set upon by a mob, and barely escaped with his life. On reaching Cologne he telegraphed the facts to the Legation; Mr. Pendleton lost no time in calling at the German Foreign Office to demand an immediate disclaimer of the outrage and a promise of prompt reparation, at the same time cabling to Washington a statement of the entire affair, and of his action. A reply from the President sustained his course, and instructed him to press his demand, and make no concessions.

Upon one or another pretext, however, the Berlin

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\* Word has been received that Minister Pendleton's study of the question of German-American citizenship and the violation of its rights is going to result in the hearing of the complaints of German-Americans whose rights have been interfered with while visiting the fatherland, and that a remedy is to be provided if possible. Minister Pendleton's report on the subject is expected at the Department of State early enough to afford a basis for a proposition for an amendment to the Bancroft treaty.—*Washington (D. C.) Republican, October 20th, 1885.*

Government temporized, and after repeated calls at the Foreign Office our Minister was able to obtain nothing more satisfactory than vague assurances that an inquiry was being made concerning the affair. Meanwhile in America the excitement was indescribable. In many places Bismarck was burned in effigy, the naturalized German element being foremost in the demonstrations. Mass-meetings were held everywhere. At one in St. Louis, where over fifty thousand attended, such transparencies as "Germany Must Apologize or Fight" and "Reparation or War" were freely displayed. Cablegrams by the score and from every quarter of the land daily poured in upon the American Minister at Berlin, urging him to stand firm at every cost. The newspapers teemed with instances of the arrogance of German authorities toward naturalized Americans revisiting their native land; it was discovered that thousands of similar complaints, under the title of "military cases," had been pigeon-holed at the Berlin Legation through the indifference or sycophancy of former ministers; \* it came to light

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\* EXPELLING AMERICANS.

AFTER HIS POLISH IMMOLATION, BISMARCK TURNS TO UNITED STATES CITIZENS.

(*By Cable to the New York Herald.*)

BERLIN, November 11th, 1885.—The German-Americans who were recently expelled from the island of Foehr, Schleswig, have been ordered to leave Prussia before November 15th. Two naturalized Americans, natives of Tarp and Schottenburg, have also been ordered to leave, one by the end of November and the other by the end of the year.

BERLIN, December 11th, 1885.—The *Vossische Zeitung* publishes a letter from Schleswig in reference to President Cleve-

that previous administrations had been vainly appealed to to right outrageous wrongs of this character ; and that several well-known members of Congress, now among the loudest for war, had been requested to bring similar acts of arrogance to the notice of the House of Representatives, yet, for some reason, had neglected to do so. But now the long smouldering fire of indignation against German arrogance blazed up into a fierce flame ; the return of the Lasker resolutions, and the uncivil treatment received by a former Minister at the German court, Mr. Sargent, were revived in the public mind ; and to fan the flame, copies and translations of Bismarck's speech in the Reichstag on the former question were printed on tissue paper and circulated by hundreds of thousands among the people.

The popular demand for immediate action decided the President to call an extra session of Congress. The shooting of Reinhardt had occurred late in August ; on the 12th of September Mr.

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land's Message. In alluding to that part of the Message regarding an apparent tendency on the part of the Imperial Government to extend the scope of the residential restrictions to which returning naturalized citizens of German origin are asserted to be liable under the laws of the Empire, the writer says : “ The German Government treats alike, regardless of where naturalized, all Germans who emigrate in order to escape military service and then return to Germany. The Government will not tolerate American or Danish colonies within its territory. The Schleswig expulsion edict is a warning for those liable to military service if seized with a desire to emigrate and then return to Germany as naturalized citizens of another country.”—*New York Tribune*.

Pendleton demanded his passports, bade farewell to the German Court, and withdrew to London to await further developments. Congress assembled on the first Monday in October. So eager had been the response to the President's summons, that only three Senators and less than twenty members of the House failed to answer when their names were called. The organization of both branches was promptly effected. Meanwhile popular feeling was so intense that eager crowds gathered before the telegraph offices and bulletin boards in all the larger cities and towns. At Washington the Capitol was besieged by a shouting populace, requiring a strong force of police and militia to keep open even a passage for the entrance and egress of members. The President's Message was read in executive session to the assembled bodies amid profound silence. It was temperate in tone, and after reciting all the details of the Reinhardt affair, supported by a mass of correspondence, telegraphic and otherwise, submitted the case to the sovereign representatives of the people for such action as might be deemed "just, dignified, and best befitting the honor of a great nation."

No sooner had the reading ended than a score of members were on their feet demanding to be heard ; but among them there was no voice for peace, nor even for arbitration. The cooler-headed members kept their senses and their seats, waiting for the storm of excited oratory to pass, and for the moment to arrive when the question of declaring war against the most powerful military empire in the

world might be discussed with dignity and calmness. While all were unanimous in agreeing that an insult had been offered for which full reparation must be demanded, the views as to how that reparation could best be obtained were so conflicting that a continuous session of nearly forty-eight hours had been held without result, when, to the surprise of all, a second message from the President was announced. It transmitted a cable dispatch from the Government of Great Britain, offering the mediation and arbitration of Queen Victoria, if by that means hostilities could be averted.

The proposition served to divide the members, and thus fortunately to prevent a hasty and intemperate declaration of war. From the members representing Irish constituencies it met, of course, with opposition the most bitter. The debate was renewed with added vigor, while the crowds which still thronged the corridors and grounds of the Capitol, being informed of the new phase of the question, also became divided in sentiment, and gave now cheers, now hisses for England and the Queen. The press took up the arbitration question in most instances favorably, and these opinions, coming back by telegraph to different Senators and representatives, influenced to some extent their own views. Every parliamentary means was resorted to by the opposing factions to defer a direct vote until one or the other could be certain of a majority, and it was only after the session had reached its fourth day that a call of the Yeas and Nays on the question of accepting Great Britain's offer resulted in an

affirmative decision by a scant majority of five. The country acquiesced, though at first reluctantly. Gradually, however, the wisdom of the course adopted impressed itself upon the public mind, while general confidence was felt in the fairness and impartiality of the chosen arbiter.

The Council of Arbitration met at London early in January, 1890, the United States being represented by Dr. Woolsey, of Yale University, a recognized authority in international law ; Hon. William M. Evarts, the most brilliant legal mind of that day, and Senator Randall Gibson, of Louisiana, a man who, though much younger than the other two, possessed tried political sagacity and many accomplishments. Germany sent Count Hatzfeld, one of her former ministers to the Court of St. James, Count Munster, an exceedingly able diplomat, and Herbert Bismarck, a son of the Chancellor. The Prince of Wales presided over the council as representative of his royal mother. The attitude of Germany, if not arrogant, was certainly not conciliatory. While feigning regret for the tragical issue of the Reinhardt incident, she took the ground that it had resulted from his offering personal resistance to lawful military authority ; and that as he had been answerable for military service to the German Empire prior to his acquiring American citizenship, such citizenship could not be recognized by the German Empire until the prior obligation had been discharged. This presentation of the case caused the excitement in America to break out afresh, and greatly strength-

ened the cause of the opponents of arbitration. Many openly urged a recall of the delegates to the council and an immediate declaration of war. Yet Congress, though by a bare majority, stood firm in the course it had chosen, and it has since been generally conceded as certain that had the Council of Arbitration been permitted to complete its work, the verdict would have been favorable to the claim of the United States. But before it had been in session for a month other great events intervened to put an abrupt end to its proceedings and to precipitate that general European conflict which to all observant minds had, though long and oft deferred, seemed in the end inevitable.

Let us now turn for awhile to a consideration of the events which had been transpiring in the Old World contemporaneously with those which we have been describing in the New. Where so many thousands of soldiers were constantly kept under arms, and where so many disturbing elements existed, requiring all the tact and statecraft of public men to prevent collisions or outbreaks, it seems indeed wonderful that the clash of arms was so long averted. Chief among these constant causes for disquietude were the German colonial policy, which proved aggressive in its character ; England's constant irritation against Russia on account of the latter's stealthy but steady encroachments on her Northern Indian frontier ; Russia's unceasing intrigues in the Balkan Peninsula ; France's watchful eagerness to avenge Sedan and recover Alsace and Lorraine ; the commercial jealousies engendered



in the opening up of the Congo Free State ; and lastly, the spread of the Socialist movement, endangering, in case of a general war, the safety of every capital in Europe. But of all these questions, the one probably most calculated to keep Europe in a constant ferment was Russia's ambition to drive the Sultan from Europe, and gain control of the Dardanelles. The treaty of San Stefano and the action of the Berlin Conference had but served as temporary delays in the prosecution of this plan ; and when, in 1885, Bulgaria and Roumelia proclaimed their independence as a united kingdom, although the voice that spoke was that of a Bulgarian Jacob, the hand was but too plainly that of a Russian Esau. The impoverished condition of the Turkish treasury and the discontent and corruption existing in official circles at Constantinople contributed still further to stimulate Russia's sleepless ambition. An outbreak, in fact, occurred in 1887, which well-nigh assumed the proportions of a revolution, and which was only suppressed by the most prompt and severe measures. In the following year an unsuccessful attempt was made upon the Sultan's life by one of his most trusted advisers, who was afterward shown to have been one of a band of conspirators, many of whom were discovered and summarily put to death. In short, the crescent was waning, and the downfall of the Mohammedan power in Europe had come to be looked upon as certain to ensue whenever the course of events should afford Russia the slightest pretext for a renewal of hostilities.

As far back as 1880 Bismarck's attempt to divert the stream of German emigration into colonial channels had begun to make itself apparent. That some outlet must be found for the overcrowded populations of the Fatherland was plain; and it was the great statesman's aim to found in various quarters of the globe colonies where German emigrants, while finding all the land they required, might still remain German citizens and dwell under the same monarchical influences which had surrounded them at home. The hundreds of thousands who had gone to the United States and had there acquired citizenship, with a republican freedom of thought, speech, and action, constituted an element of antagonism to monarchy which, though the Atlantic rolled between, could not but make its influence keenly felt upon the thought and temper of the German middle and lower classes at home—an influence which found voice in the growing strength and boldness of the Democratic party in the Reichstag. Warned by this spread of ideas which in time must inevitably undermine the throne, Bismarck shrewdly set about providing colonial possessions where, under home protection, German industry and thrift might, instead of being lost to the Fatherland, only serve to increase its power and influence, and expand its realm.\* To

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\* BISMARCK'S TERRITORIAL DESIGNS--RAISING THE GERMAN FLAG  
IN THE SOUTHERN PACIFIC.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., December 21st, 1885.—Private advices by the steamer *Oceanic*, which arrived here on Saturday from China, state that the German man-of-war *Nautilus* has raised

this spirit was due the cordial support accorded to the Congo Free State project by calling together the Congo Conference at Berlin ; the attempt to plant the German flag on the Caroline Islands, engendering an enmity on the part of Spain which, as we shall see later, bore bitter fruits ; the persistent encroachments of German traders in Japan, China, and the Corea ; and the notorious failure to establish a colony in Southern Brazil, whence, after the expenditure of half a million dollars and many lives, the survivors were glad to return to Germany at any price.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding the restriction upon immigration, which began to be freely talked of in the United States, Germans had continued flocking thither by thousands annually, and the schemes of Bismarck not only practically failed of their object, but, worse still, succeeded in engendering in England, Belgium, Holland, Spain, and Italy a sense of deep popular irritation against the arbitrary spirit in which it had been attempted to carry them out. It may, in short, be said that by this and various other means Germany had, by the arrival of the year 1890, succeeded in rendering herself the most unpopular—in fact, the worst-hated nation in Eu-

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the German flag on the Marshall and Gilbert groups of islands, in the Southern Pacific, and claimed for the government a protectorate over them. These islands number about fifty in all. The natives are said to be civilized and to have been for many years under the influence of the American Missionary Society. Further particulars are expected by the Australian steamer due here on December 28th.

rope. Still, she remained unquestionably the most powerful. The iron hand of military power kept down all disaffection and maintained German unity intact, notwithstanding the ominous signs of revolt against Berlin despotism, coming now from Baden, now from Bavaria or Würtemberg, now from one or another of the numerous Duchies or Principalities attached to the triumphal chariot of Prussia. The Emperor William's openly expressed desire that Germany should preserve the peace of Europe during the remainder of his lifetime was fortunately fulfilled, and the sunset of the grand old soldier's days proved indeed as tranquil and calm as their morning and noon had been fitful and stormy. It is related that one day during the closing years of his life he had gone to a chapel connected with the Berlin Dom for the purpose of inspecting an allegorical painting, which represents the kings of the earth depositing their emblems of royalty at the feet of the Saviour. The court preacher addressed the monarch, who made the following reply : “ What you have said to me personally I accept with all modesty, as a man whose days in this world are numbered. During my long life, and especially of late years, Heaven has showered many blessings and mercies upon me ; but the worldly homage paid me I deposit on the throne of the Most High, who gives us the strength to accomplish whatever good we can do in the world.” Could the monarch who gave utterance to such sentiments as these have only been spared for a few years longer, who can say what influence his presence and example might not

have thrown into the scale to preserve peace and avert that tremendous conflict the causes of which we are now considering! But he had reached a ripe old age, and the grim messenger who knocks impartially at the peasant's hut and the palace gate brought him at last his summons. From that moment began a new era in the history of Germany. From the day that Frederick ascended the throne, the star of Bismarck was in its descendant, and with it waned the brilliant sun that had shone over united Germany. First came the quarrel of Baden with Bavaria concerning the latter's small strip of territory on the Rhine; then the renewal of the Brunswick succession question, and finally the ridiculous frontier dispute between Würtemberg and Hohenzollern, which by the beginning of 1890 had assumed a national importance and threatened a disruption of friendly relations between Würtemberg and Prussia, had not events of far greater weight compelled both contestants to lay aside their minor differences and make common cause against a common foe.

To at least one nation in Europe these evidences of internal dissension in Germany were auguries of the dawn of a day long awaited. Although nearly two decades had obliterated all traces of the battlefield of Sedan, the memory of its disgrace still rankled in the heart of every Frenchman.. Every French mother who brought forth a boy consecrated him with his first breath as a soldier to France, and taught him with his first prayer at her knee to lisp the watchword "*à bas les Prussiens.*"

During all the years that had elapsed, none ever acknowledged that the battle for Alsace and Lorraine was ended : it was only a prolonged truce, during which the temporarily prostrated contestant was gathering fresh strength for a renewal of the deadly struggle. The female statue representing the city of Strasburg, on the Place de la Concorde at Paris, was tenderly draped with emblems of mourning every year by the populace, as that of a loved sister in captivity. Since the restoration of peace and the establishment of the republic France had prospered incredibly. With the exception of the quixotic hostilities in Tonquin, she had contrived to hold aloof from foreign complications. The Presidential election of 1886, to which many timid ones had looked forward with misgiving, had been safely passed ; Bonapartism had met its death-blow from a Zulu spear in South Africa ; and even the Royalist element had begun to concede tacitly that the republic was, at least for years to come, a fixed fact. The stern and prompt suppression of the Radical uprising at Lyons late in 1887 showed not only that the Republican leaders were in earnest, but that they had the support of the people and of the army, and were in a position to cope successfully with the dangerous elements in their own party. The enthusiastic reception given to President Grévy on the occasion of his visit in 1887 to the United States, to attend an international celebration in honor of the statue of “ Liberty ” in New York Harbor, and the friendly tone of his speeches during his journey and after his return, had served

to cement the brotherly relations between the two countries, so happily inaugurated by Lafayette and Rochambeau, and had resulted in the framing of a special and reciprocal tariff treaty between the two governments, under which French wines and silks were admitted on a reduced duty, in return for similar privileges accorded to our wheat, pork, canned goods, and agricultural implements at French custom houses.

As may be imagined, Germany looked upon this *rapprochement* between the United States and her traditional enemy with no friendly eye, the more so as some of the more indiscreet of the mosquito press of Paris, with Gallic childishness, began loudly hinting at a possible alliance, both offensive and defensive, with the United States, in case of an attempt to recover the lost provinces on the Rhine. So offensive, in fact, did these utterances become, that the German Minister, von Schlözer, felt obliged to bring them officially to the notice of the French Government, and to request a disavowal. The offending journalists were promptly punished by the infliction of trifling fines, but not until popular sentiment had had a good opportunity of displaying its full sympathy with the ideas suggested. About this time everything American became again as popular at Paris as it had been in the days of Franklin and Adams. The caprices of the good people of the giddy French capital found expression, for instance, in naming a number of the boulevards after the leading cities of the Union. The "Avenue de la Grande République" became the

“Avenue des deux Grandes Républiques,” and the “Rue Bayard” the “Rue President Bayard.” The works of the leading American authors were translated and read with avidity. Barrett, the American tragedian, was accorded the honor of appearing as Cassius in Shakespeare’s *Julius Cæsar* on the boards of the Comédie Française, supported by an American company; and although the English text was used, the house was thronged, and distinguished honors were heaped upon the player. In the official world a similar feeling prevailed. The action of the French ministry in refusing M. de Lesseps’s extraordinary demands for protection in his hour of need was unquestionably a concession to America’s openly avowed opposition to the project. Nor only this. The French Government, by order of the National Assembly, sent commissions to this country to study and report on our system of agriculture, of public education, of canals and railroads, and of telegraphy. In the United States these substantial proofs of respect and friendliness were appreciated, and met in a similar though perhaps less demonstrative spirit. But the day was soon to come when the alliance thus begun was to prove of greater significance and value than the world at large, which had been inclined to regard it as a mere accident, had ever anticipated.

Among the other causes of disquietude in Europe to which reference has been made was the strife for commercial supremacy in the then newly organized Congo Free State. There existed at that time a general belief that Europeans could, with proper



precaution, become acclimated in that region, and the opening of the Congo to foreign trade was regarded as only the preliminary step to the peopling of all Central Africa by the Caucasian race, to the ultimate extinction of the African tribes. Unfortunately time had not yet demonstrated the visionary nature of these expectations, and so the rush for the Congo began. Capital was subscribed without difficulty for the construction of the railway around the rapids from Vivi to Stanley-Pool. Vivi and Leopoldville, from insignificant native villages with a few barracks built by European pioneers, grew rapidly to be commercial towns, the one with twelve, the other with seven thousand white inhabitants. Enormous warehouses were put up at various points along the stream, and in these were stored stocks of merchandise and provisions far in excess of the demands of the market. Before long it began to be painfully apparent that the resources of the country, present or prospective, were far from adequate to repay the capital already invested.\* Yet Europe was slow to accept the idea of a failure, and everything possible was done to bolster up public confidence in the future of Congo trade. Stock companies, based on inaccessible mines, impossible railways, and untenable tracts of farming and graz-

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\* NEW YORK, December 2d, 1885.—It is believed that the resolutions of the Berlin Conference in respect to the Congo will be sent to Congress with adverse comments by President Cleveland on the ground that the climate and resources of that part of Africa are not favorable to commerce, and that the United States are indisposed to engage in entangling alliances.—*London Standard*.

ing land were organized, and the bourses of Europe were flooded with the shares. International jealousies and rivalries kept the settlers themselves in a constant quarrel, and the absence of any authority competent to preserve order over so vast a territory caused much the same condition of society as that which existed here in our Western territory a century ago. Notwithstanding the strictest regulations on paper, quantities of gunpowder and alcohol passed into the hands of the natives, who, at first disposed to be friendly and peaceable, soon became mistrustful, then vindictive, and finally openly hostile. The quarrels among the settlers were constant and serious. If an Englishman was killed by a Portuguese, or if an Italian stilettoed some unoffending Hollander, there would ensue a lengthy diplomatic correspondence between their respective home governments, but that was all. Germans would by force of numbers succeed in ousting Belgians from some good trading nook on the river; the latter would move farther up or down the stream, and in turn oust some party of Englishmen less numerous than they; and the Englishmen perhaps resisting, there would be bloodshed, and who was to right the wrong? For a time it kept all Europe in hot water, until, in the presence of greater events, the Congo commerce dropped temporarily out of notice, and the settlers were left to fight it out with the climate, the natives, and each other as best they could.

Meanwhile over all Europe hovered the dark, intangible spectre which, under the various names of

“Nihilism,” “Socialism,” “Communism,” etc., was threatening war not upon any particular government, but upon all government, upon society, upon religion, upon the family tie, upon all that we have been taught to hold sacred and dear. Silent, yet vigilant; unseen, yet ceaselessly active, it resembled some monster serpent, coiled for a spring, and encircling all Europe in its slimy folds. For long years it had been content to limit its ghastly work to assassination. At one time it would attempt the life of an obnoxious monarch; at another, aim its pistol at some Cabinet minister, or again strike down a trusty police official, whose vigilance had proved an obstacle to the carrying out of its hellish plots. There is reason for believing that the secret police of the various leading governments at that period were thoroughly advised in regard to the nature and strength of the various socialist organizations, and regularly informed of their proceedings and projects. It was this Argus-eyed vigilance which kept the revolutionists in abeyance so long as peace prevailed; while, on the other hand, that society was living upon the thin crust of a volcano, which might at any time belch forth fire and blood, was a fact to which rulers could not be blind. Finally, in self-defence, each nation resorted to the expulsion of all foreign Socialists from its territory, thus hemming them in within the boundaries of the countries to which they respectively belonged. This, to some extent, simplified the problem, and enabled the police to localize the elements with which they had to deal, and to keep

every suspected or dangerous individual where they could lay hand on him, if need be, at a moment's notice. Yet, in spite of all this surveillance, Socialism grew and prospered, and assassination went on as before. Sometimes the perpetrators were discovered, sometimes not. Those who were discovered, tried, and convicted often boastfully avowed their guilt in open court, and defying their judges, went to execution with a smile upon their lips. In this fanatical desperation, this misguided heroism, prompting thousands of able-bodied men in every land in Europe to stand ready, on the simple drawing of a lot, to take their lives in their hands and go to almost certain death in carrying out the behest of the order, every European Government recognized an adversary which threatened to become in time more formidable than the armies and navies of its neighbors. It was a fierce tiger crouching, and ready to spring so soon as, by any chance, the hand which held the chain should relax its grasp.

England had perhaps been the greatest sufferer among all the European powers at the hands of these desperate revolutionists. Not to mention the constant effort made by the Irish, or Fenians, as they were then called, to embroil her with the United States, she also had to undergo, for a long series of years, dastardly attempts to blow up her public buildings by means of explosives, or to lay London and her other large cities in ashes. Scarcely had the excitement attending the attempt to blow up the Tower and the Houses of Parliament died out of the public mind, when a plan to destroy

Windsor Castle was discovered and happily frustrated. In September, 1887, great fires broke out simultaneously in many quarters of London, and while the flames were yet unsubdued, the telegraph brought intelligence that conflagrations were raging in Birmingham, Sheffield, Hull, Manchester, and Liverpool. The losses occasioned by these fires aggregated upward of twenty millions of pounds; and although the Government failed to prove that they were the result of a joint conspiracy, nobody ever doubted that fact. Many of the incendiaries were caught, and every one of them proved to be an Irishman. Though all were convicted and sentenced to death or penal servitude, they all, without exception, strenuously maintained to the end that they knew nothing of each other's acts.

In 1888 a similar attempt was made, but vigilance and promptitude prevented its resulting in any serious harm. On the last occasion, however, as if by preconcerted action, the people of every large city in England arose *en masse*, outraged beyond expression at these cowardly acts, and demanded the expulsion of every Irishman not an avowed supporter of the English Government. The sturdy British patience was exhausted, and every disloyal Irishman was given one week in which to leave England for good. In some places those who were known as violent antagonists of the Government were soundly beaten and sent out by force, but in the main the expulsion proceeded quietly, and within ten days England was rid of hundreds of troublesome agitators and conspirators, most of

whom sailed for America. Our Government, however, took energetic action, and treated them as political criminals to the extent of requiring as a condition of each one's landing that he should furnish bonds to preserve the international peace; this the most of them happily failed to do, and were consequently obliged to return to Europe or to scatter to Mexico and South America, where they were heard of no more. Strong British garrisons meanwhile occupied the principal centres of disloyalty in Ireland; for a time there were attempted assassinations and occasional outbreaks, but the Conservative Party, which had returned to power in 1887, was determined to deal with Ireland with an iron hand, and results proved the wisdom of its course. By the close of 1889 Ireland had come to be better governed and more tranquil than ever before under English rule. To this result the loyal assistance of the Roman Catholic clergy and the co-operation of the United States Government in suppressing Fenian plots on American soil had contributed to a large extent; the later fact had, moreover, cemented the bonds of brotherhood between the two great English-speaking nations of the earth, and it was the current remark of that period that Great Britain and the United States combined would be able to dictate either peace or war to the entire continent of Europe. The interchange of friendly visits between the two countries by the distinguished men of each was constant. In 1887 the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his second son, revisited the United States, and was

received with an enthusiasm surpassing, if anything, that which had marked his first visit thither when a mere youth. Ex-President Cleveland's reception in London, in 1889, was not less cordial, the prince accompanying him in an open barouche, through crowded streets, from the Mansion House to the Parliament Buildings. I find in an illustrated paper of that period—it is called a "comic" paper—a cartoon entitled "The Modern Siamese Twins," representing John Bull and Brother Jonathan, in their traditional character costumes, standing linked together by a ligament of flesh and blood on which is inscribed "We Are One."

It is not necessary to detain you here by narrating in detail the history of Great Britain's varied foreign relations during the decade immediately preceding the war of 1890. A nation with so many and so widely dispersed foreign possessions, and whose drum taps, as it was then the Briton's pride to boast, daily followed the sun around the globe, was almost constantly finding itself engaged in some foreign war or another. The campaigns in South Africa, in the Soudan, in Burmah, in Ceylon; the desperate uprising among the hill tribes of India in 1887, and the French Canadian outbreak about the same period, growing out of the execution of the half-breed Riel two years before—all these kept England's army busy, but without adding a square foot of territory to her possessions. Behind all lurked the spectre of Russia's crafty ambition to secure the approaches to the north-western frontier of India. Notwithstanding that Lord Salisbury's

prudent statesmanship had succeeded, in 1885, in establishing a boundary-line for Afghanistan which, it was fondly hoped, would prove an effectual and permanent barrier to further encroachments, Russia within a twelvemonth renewed her insidious practice of advancing her foreposts, now on this pretext, now on that, here by bribery, there by force, until the time came when her foothold was certain, and concealment was no longer necessary. Then the mask was thrown boldly off, and one morning in January, 1890, the telegraph flashed the news abroad to the world that a Russian army corps had occupied Herat.

The act was tantamount to a declaration of war. England promptly accepted the challenge, and set on foot war preparations on an enormous scale. The long-cherished hatred of Russia which burned in every Englishman's heart was aroused to open action by this sudden and unexpected act of treachery. But while both nations were arming and putting forth all their energies for the deadly conflict certain to ensue, the telegraph brought another startling announcement. A Russian frigate, while passing through the Dardanelles, had been fired into and sunk by the Turks. Thus England found an unexpected ally. Diplomatic relations between Constantinople and St. Petersburg were at once cut off, and Russia threw an overwhelming force of her own and Roumanian troops across the Danube into Bulgaria. Austria followed suit by sending two army corps to Servia and Bosnia, and concentrating a large fleet of war ships at Trieste.



This move aroused still greater indignation in Great Britain, and Austria's policy was universally condemned. People recalled the famous remark made by Mr. Gladstone a few years before. "Take," said he, "a map of the world and show me, if you can, one spot of earth upon it where Austria has ever done any good." But it was not with England alone that Austria had now to reckon. Italy called upon her for an explanation of the menacing armament at Trieste, and France promptly backed up the demand by officially expressing a hope that Austria's explanation would prove to be of a conciliatory and satisfactory character. Meanwhile all eyes were turned upon Germany, anxious to learn what course she would pursue. Nor did they remain long in uncertainty. The action of France provoked much comment at Berlin, and a week afterward large bodies of German troops had occupied Alsace-Lorraine, with heavy reserves on the Rhine and along the Swiss frontier.

All this frantic hurrying to arms had been the work of less than a month. It was late in January when the Russians occupied Herat, yet before March had opened two thirds of Europe was under arms and ready for conflict.

But even at this critical moment, while it was not yet too late, there came from the great Republic of the West, beyond the sea, a voice pleading for peace, in the name of humanity and Christianity. The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, then in Congress assembled, adopted and transmitted to the several Great Powers

of Europe, through the Department of State and their respective representatives at Washington, that famous “Appeal for Peace” which has ever since taken rank, side by side with the Declaration of Independence, among the memorable State documents in the world’s archives. To you, my hearers, who have heard this document recited so often, and who have, many of you, declaimed it from the school rostrum in your boyhood’s days, it is unnecessary that I should repeat it here. But its calm, unimpassioned utterances, its powerful portrayal of the dire consequences of war, as contrasted with the beneficent blessings of peace, and its noble offer to waive for the moment on the part of the United States the pending dispute with Germany, if by so doing the former country could mediate as an impartial arbitrator between the Powers in conflict—all these stand out in bright letters of light in your memory, as the golden hues of a sunset which preceded a dark and terrible night of storm.

But alas ! the appeal was vain ; it fell upon deaf or unheeding ears. An English fleet was already on its way to the North Sea, and Turkish troops had already met with a serious repulse on the Serbian frontier. Austria had returned a haughty reply to Italy’s demand, and both the latter country and France were in a ferment, and hurrying troops to their respective frontiers.

It was at this juncture that the Joint Council of Arbitration then in session in London for the settlement of the pending dispute between Germany and the United States was brought to an abrupt termi-

nation by England's withdrawal from the position of arbiter. Much as this step was to be regretted, it was, under the circumstances, clearly unavoidable, for Germany no longer concealed her intention to side with Russia and Austria, her copartners in the Tri-Imperial Alliance. The withdrawal created little surprise, for it had been foreseen from the moment the German troops had begun to move toward the Rhine ; but it revived anew in the United States the excitement and the indignation against Germany, a feeling which was stimulated by great general sympathy with France, and a sense of brotherhood with England in her impending struggle. The disposition of Congress, however, so far as taking any immediate action against Germany was concerned, may be inferred from the proposition conveyed in the "Appeal for Peace"—viz., to waive our differences with Germany for the time being, in order to effect a bloodless settlement of the greater questions then pending on the Continent. But the German Government's subsequent action toward us rudely dispelled the last remnant of this conciliatory feeling. It is stated that when the "Appeal for Peace" had been read in the Reichstag, Bismarck retorted with a sneer, "Good ! Let the Americans wait ; we can attend to them afterward ; for the present we have more important business."

At the same time numerous complaints came in by cable to the State Department in behalf of German-Americans who had been arbitrarily impressed into the German ranks and sent off to the front. These high-handed acts, coupled with the Chancel-

lor's sneer, lashed the people of the United States into a fury, and scattered forbearance to the winds. Many leading Congressmen who had hitherto favored every honorable sacrifice for the maintenance of peace were now loudest in asserting that the moment had arrived for prompt and decisive action. The country was clamorous for war, and thousands of volunteers stood ready in every State in the Union, waiting to offer themselves for military service so soon as the Government should make a call. On the 8th of March Congress resolved almost unanimously—there were but ten dissentient votes—“that war be and the same is hereby declared to exist between the Empire of Germany and the dependencies thereof and the United States of America and their territories.” The President was empowered to raise and equip an army of three hundred thousand volunteers; to employ all the land and naval forces of the United States for the prosecution of the war; to issue letters of marque; and to call for such public loans as might be necessary for executing this authorization.

Such was the temper of the people, that within a week after the issue of President Bayard's proclamation the quota of each State was filled, and half a million men had volunteered for active service. Camps of instruction were established at every State capital, whither the quotas, as fast as enlisted, were sent to be placed under military discipline and drill. The supreme command was given to General Howard, who established his headquarters at Louisville, Ky., and at once proceeded to

take steps for the organization of the immense army of raw troops which he found under him. In the accomplishment of this task he had the invaluable assistance of thousands of veteran soldiers both in the North and South who had seen service in the War of Secession, and who, though now past the military age, were yet active in every State in giving instruction to the new troops.

The fever of excitement which had possessed the country before war had been declared now gave place to a calm, resolute quiet and determination. As yet it was generally believed that the army would only be required for purposes of defence, in garrisoning the frontiers and sea-coasts, and that whatever active warfare was carried on would be done by the navy alone. None at first thought of aggressive military measures against Germany. By the middle of April the new troops were in readiness to move. The country was divided into four military departments, with headquarters respectively at Burlington, Vt. ; Baltimore, Md. ; Houston, Tex. ; and San Francisco, Cal., with the troops so stationed in each as to be available to repel attempted invasion at any point. Active measures were at the same time taken to strengthen the sea-coast defences and the frontier forts, especially along the Mexican border, for our relations with Mexico at that time, owing to recent outrages by predatory bands on the Rio Grande, were such that it was considered as quite possible that a German military force might land at Vera Cruz and march upon us inland from that quarter. By the 1st of May the

greater part of the military preparations were disposed of and the troops in positions in the respective departments. Our navy in the mean time had already won brilliant honors. Thanks to the foresight of President Cleveland, whose recommendations to Congress in 1885 had borne good fruit, our naval armament had been brought up to a condition where it could rank with the other great navies of the world. Within a month after the declaration of war two German merchantmen were brought into Philadelphia with prize crews on board, and a naval engagement took place off the English coast between the German frigate Kaiser Fritz and the United States ironclad Adirondack, resulting in the disabling and consequent surrender of the former vessel.

But while these events were transpiring at home and on the sea, all Europe was in a continued ferment. France had declared war on Germany without waiting for Italy's action, and a sharp engagement had already taken place on the Alsatian frontier at Avricourt. The Tri-Imperial Alliance had at last assumed tangible form and shape. Germany, Russia, and Austria stood shoulder to shoulder, confronting the remainder of Europe, arrogant and defiant in the belief that their combined force was sufficient to accomplish whatever usurpation of power or distribution of territory might be agreed upon between them. Opposed to them were England, with her scattered forces and comparatively unprotected sea-coast and colonies; France, with a million and a half of men under arms and eager for

revenge ; Spain, who had seized the opportunity to revive the Caroline Islands incident, and had joined fortunes with France ; Italy, bitterly incensed against Austrian aggression, and Turkey, armed for the death struggle with her traditional enemy across the Danube. The Swiss Republic had at once proclaimed its neutrality, and strongly garrisoned its frontier at every point. Belgium also endeavored at first to hold aloof from the struggle, but was drawn into it later by unavoidable complications. Holland and Denmark succeeded in keeping entirely out of the fight, though, as results ultimately proved, with no permanent advantage to themselves.

Thus, then, at the opening of May, 1890, the armies of Europe stood arrayed for combat. A line of bristling bayonets, extending across Europe from the North Sea, along the Rhine to the Austrian Tyrol, and thence down to the Adriatic, marked the outposts of the Tri-Imperial forces, confronted by the armies of France and Italy. The Balkan peninsula was occupied by Russian and Austrian troops, ready at a moment's notice to make a dash upon Constantinople ; a Russian army had already invaded Northern India. The Mediterranean and North Sea swarmed with war vessels, and squadrons of the opposing powers had been dispatched to the Pacific and Indian Oceans to attack the commerce or colonies of their enemies, as occasion might offer. England, at the first show of hostilities, had seized the Suez Canal, and, with the aid of France and Italy, was holding it, without danger of being dis-

turbed in its possession. The necessity, however, of concerted action was apparent, if an effective resistance was to be offered to the three empires. Accordingly, on the 10th of May, a Council of Plenipotentiaries, representing Great Britain, Spain, Italy, and Turkey, assembled at Paris to conclude with France an alliance, offensive and defensive, against Germany, Austria, and Russia.

An invitation was extended to the United States of America by the council to become a party to the alliance. The proposal was a tempting one under the circumstances, however much its acceptance might be at variance with our oft-reiterated policy of non-interference in European politics. Nevertheless, it was tempting. Times had changed, it was argued, since the Monroe doctrine had been proclaimed.

Then we were a young republic, struggling for recognition among the people of the earth ; now we were foremost among the nations, and seeking just reparation from Germany for a wanton outrage ; should this musty tradition of the olden time be now allowed to stand in the way of a vindication of our national honor ? Moreover, Congress, in deciding upon the question of the proposed alliance, was greatly influenced by earnest appeals from France to come over and help her in her time of need as she had done for us in the Revolution. Should we accept, it was urged the weight of the American arms thrown into France's side of the scale would ensure a certainty of triumph over Germany, their common foe. The proposition proved popular.



Here were so many thousands of young men lying idle in the camps and clamoring to be led against their foreign enemy. There was something so novel, so alluring in the idea of an American army landing on the European continent and carrying the Stars and Stripes to victory on the very soil of their wanton aggressors, that the voice of the country was all but unanimous for the proposed alliance, and Congress accordingly, on the 25th of May, voted to make common cause with the allied powers, and authorized a further call for two hundred thousand men. The decision caused unbounded enthusiasm both at home and abroad. London, Paris, Madrid, Rome, and Constantinople were illuminated in honor of the event, congratulatory cablegrams were received at the State Department from the various allied Governments, and at the English and French capitals, notwithstanding the gloom which otherwise prevailed, there were great popular rejoicings over this powerful accession to their joint cause.

At this point, my friends, I close my narration of the events which preceded and led up to the war of 1890. We have seen how the long-smouldering fires of European jealousies and ambition have been finally fanned into a flame, and how, at the behest of their rulers, the immense standing armies which for years had been eating out their countries' very substance in times of peace, have at last sprung to arms, and stand confronting each other ready for the deadly fray ; we have seen our own land, after repeated measures of conciliation and forbearance,

also at last drawn into this maelstrom of conflict, and ready to bear its share of disaster or conquer its share of victory in the defence of its most dearly cherished doctrine of protection to every citizen, however humble. In my next lecture I shall narrate the varying fortunes which followed our flag in the dire struggle that ensued, terminating in the glorious victory with which Providence crowned our arms. And now, in conclusion, a few words in regard to the remarkable manner in which the records of that memorable period have been and are being preserved.

It is a trite remark, yet one which none of us will care to gainsay, that no historian can truthfully and impartially chronicle the events of his own day and generation ; yet, on the other hand, it is equally true that the historian who would faithfully and without bias record the events of an era that is past must depend to a very great extent upon the fidelity with which those who lived in that era have collated and preserved the great mass of details, true or false, prejudiced or unprejudiced, to which all periods of popular excitement give birth, and from which, only in the crucible of careful afterthought, can be distilled that pure truth which is to abide forever. To illustrate this fact, we have but to note in the historical annals of our own country the striking contrast between the comparatively meagre records which exist of the War of the Revolution and of the times of Washington as compared with the wonderfully complete and detailed histories of

the War of Secession which are to be found in every library in the land. During the former period journalism was in its infancy, our people were struggling for an existence, physical as well as national, and but little thought appears to have been given to gathering and preserving reliable *data* upon which the historian of the future—a Bancroft, a Lossing, or a Headley—might depend. But during the Secession struggle thousands of printing-presses were in operation throughout the land, army correspondents and reporters were active everywhere, soldiers' letters from the front were reprinted in their village papers, the widest publicity was given even to the smallest detail of news, files of the leading dailies were carefully bound and put away upon library shelves, scrap-books were regularly kept by thousands of patient readers, and one of these latter was, I find, even put in print under the title of "The Rebellion Record," and forms of itself a very complete compendium of the spirit and deeds of that eventful period. The works of Greeley and Swinton, intended by their authors to serve as histories of the war, though falling far short of that intention for the reason that they were written while the passions engendered by the strife were yet hot, must nevertheless have proved invaluable as works of reference to later authors. Indeed, Mr. Matson acknowledges this fact in his masterly book, "The War Between the Northern and Southern States," now generally conceded to be the standard work on this subject. But more valuable still, not to him only, but to all others who in this twentieth century

have undertaken to chronicle that desperate and bloody fratricidal struggle, must have proven the admirably systematic measures taken by certain enterprising publishers of periodicals and newspapers, some twenty years after the war had closed, to secure from surviving prominent participants, civil and military, articles descriptive of their personal reminiscences of the events in which they had taken part. I find, for instance, in our City Library, a bound volume of the *Century Magazine* for 1885 in which several of the leading engagements of that war—Shiloh, Manassas, and Malvern Hill—are described by both of the opposing commanders, the descriptions being accompanied by maps, diagrams, and illustrations of the most complete character. I find, again, in the files of that staunch nationalist journal, the *New York Tribune*, for the same year, a series of articles on “Abraham Lincoln” furnished by a number of personal friends who had been in daily intercourse with him twenty years before. I mention these facts as showing the activity of that period in ensuring the preservation and transmission of absolutely reliable records. The same remark applies to the systematic thoroughness with which the records of the great struggle of 1890–91 have been preserved and are being transmitted to our descendants. As yet the permanent history of that momentous period, the history of which is to take its place beside the works of Gibbon, Macaulay, Bancroft, MacMaster, and Matson, has not been given to the world. But to the mass of records of that period, both printed and written,

which await the advent of the masterhand that shall blend them together into a book befitting the magnitude of the subject, I am indebted for the facility with which I have been enabled to bring together, in the space of these lectures, a general outline of the great subject in hand.

## II.

### ITS COST.

NEVER was spectacle more grand and inspiring than that which, on a bright morning in June, 1890, greeted the beholder who, from the ramparts of Fortress Monroe, looked out upon the wide waters of Hampton Roads. Line after line of stately craft lay marshalled at anchor upon the dancing tide, forming a marine pageant which in extent and grandeur surpassed any that the world had ever before witnessed. Upward of a hundred large ocean steamers, with steam up and colors flying, and decks and rigging black with cheering soldiers, were awaiting the signal to weigh anchor and turn their prows eastward, past the distant capes, out into the broad Atlantic. Beyond them rode proudly at anchor a majestic fleet of twenty iron-clad frigates, some bearing the Stars and Stripes, others the tricolor of France. A score of dispatch boats, darting hither and thither, in and out among the fleet of transports and war-vessels, were carrying the final messages and orders preparatory to departure. A host of smaller steam and sailing vessels, laden to the water's edge with enthusiastic multitudes who had come from all parts of the country to bid a God-speed to the departing troops, plied their way

over the rippling waters, or paused under the shadows of the ocean monsters while the last words of adieu were spoken. From every side strains of martial music came wafted over the waters, mingling with the screeching of steam-whistles and the exultant cheers of thousands upon thousands of voices. Suddenly from a bastion of the fortress a single gun boomed forth its echoes, and then another and another. It was the signal for departure ; and lo ! before the white puffs of smoke had vanished away on the light breeze of that summer morn, the scene had been transformed to one of new activity and life. The vast fleet of transports slowly rounded into lines of four abreast ; the war vessels steamed into stately ranks on either side, as their convoy ; and then, amid the roar of cannon, the whole fleet moved majestically seaward, carrying with it the hearts and hopes of our nation. Alas ! how many a brave heart throbbing with exultant pride that morning under the blue coat of the American citizen-soldier was soon to be forever stilled in the sleep of death on some distant battle-field ! How many long days of danger and nights of waking, what hardships, exposures, and deadly conflicts were in store for those whom Heaven should spare to return as survivors crowned with victory to their beloved land ! These troops composed the first and second army corps of the American contingent sent to co-operate with the allied forces in Europe, and were drawn mostly from the Central and Southern Military Departments. Pennsylvania was represented by eight regiments of infantry and two bat-

teries. There were three fine regiments of South Carolinians and two others of stalwart Kentuckians, with not a man in the ranks under six feet in stature. Ohio sent a "Buckeye Brigade" of five regiments of infantry and one of heavy artillery; Virginia, a brigade of five thousand men, entitled the Washington Guard, and Georgia an equal number of infantry, with two batteries. Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Kansas were each represented by two regiments, and North Carolina and Tennessee by one each. The entire contingent, fifty thousand strong, was under command of General Terry, an old army officer. Generals Fairchild, of Wisconsin, and Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, were the corps commanders. The former was already favorably known to the country by having served as Major-General of Division at Gettysburg, where he had lost an arm, nearly thirty years before, and by subsequent service as Governor of his State and United States Minister to Spain. The latter, ~~a son~~ of the great Confederate leader, and himself a Confederate veteran of renown, resigned the governorship of Virginia to assume this command. Every one of the division and brigade commanders had, without a single exception, seen active service on one side or the other in the War of Secession, and many of the regimental field officers were also veterans of that struggle. Among the line officers and men all classes of society were represented. Clerks, students, laborers, farmers, mechanics, had all sprung forward with alacrity in response to their country's



call. There was a regiment from the Pennsylvania mining regions composed entirely of Irishmen ; another entirely of Germans from Wisconsin. Each command, in addition to the National colors, was allowed to carry the flag of its respective State. All the troops were armed with Springfield rifles and wore the United States regulation uniform, which at that time was practically the same as it is to-day. Among those who witnessed their embarkation and departure were the President and his Cabinet, who had come from Washington in a revenue cutter for that purpose. Only those whose experience carries them back to that time can realize by what herculean efforts and at what enormous cost this large army had been organized, uniformed, armed, equipped, fed, and provided with railroad and ocean transportation within such an incredibly short period of time. Yet with such admirable precision and harmony had the work been carried out by the War and Navy Departments that the transports, which had been summoned by telegraph from every available point, began to arrive in Hampton Roads simultaneously with the arrival of the troops by rail at Norfolk and Fortress Munroe, and within one week thereafter the embarkation was complete. The command of the naval squadron of fourteen vessels and of the entire fleet of transports had been entrusted to Admiral Cooper, to whom also Admiral L'Esp  s reported with a squadron of six iron-clads which the French Government had dispatched to assist in the convoy of the American troops. It was hence generally surmised, and, as results proved,

correctly, although the fleet sailed under sealed orders, that its destination was some point on the French coast. That the undertaking of transporting so large a force of troops over three thousand miles of ocean was not unattended with great danger, even in the presence of so formidable a convoy, was a fact generally admitted, for German and Russian fleets were already patrolling the seas from Land's End to Cape Finisterre, and the cable almost daily brought news of some naval engagement off the European coast. Yet it was believed that our navy, with the co-operation of the allied fleet, was fully equal to the task of landing safely on European soil not only these fifty thousand men, but the second fifty thousand who were already assembling at Fortress Monroe awaiting transportation and convoys to the same destination.

Among those whose departure from Fortress Monroe has just been described, there was a young lieutenant of Kansas infantry—a mere boy in years—who, through all the perils and hardships to which so many of his comrades succumbed, was, by the infinite mercy of Providence, spared to return in health and strength to his native land, and, after the lapse of many years, to stand before you this evening and recount the changes and chances of that memorable campaign. (Loud applause.) From the first day of his enlistment up to the day when he was mustered out of service he made it a practice to jot down in writing his impressions and experiences as they seemed to him worthy of record, and from these notes, which he has carefully pre-

served, he proposes to read you occasional extracts in the course of this lecture. For instance :

*“Steamer Sidonia, June 29th. (Eighth day out.)*—Only four men on the sick list in Company B this morning. Weather splendid. Captain thinks if all goes well we shall sight the French coast to-morrow night or early next morning. Exchanged signals at close quarters an hour ago with the Baltic, with South Carolina troops on board. The fleet keeps well together, and the sea before, behind, and on both sides of us is dotted with our transports under sail and steam. The war ships keep mostly in the advance, with a squadron of four or five bringing up the rear of the convoy and looking after the stragglers. Signals have been going to and fro actively, and the vessels appear to be keeping more closely together. Cole and I counted sixty-seven in sight at one time this morning, and as I write the number cannot certainly be less. In all probability, as we near the European coast the critical period of our voyage approaches. It is generally believed among those who give the matter a thought, that a vigorous attempt will be made by the enemy’s fleet to prevent our landing.

*“June 30th.*—The constant exchange of signals to-day indicates that some important movement is in progress. All the transports—by actual count one hundred and nine—are in sight, the entire fleet being within an area of, I should judge, not over five square miles. The war vessels keep close by and move in three squadrons, one in advance and one on each flank. We are evidently nearing the waters where an attack from a hostile fleet is most to be apprehended.

*“Later.*—Half an hour ago—it is now noon—a signal came from the flag-ship to ‘Lay to.’ The entire fleet of transports at once shortened sail and shut off steam, and we are now moving forward at only a snail’s pace through a moderately smooth sea. The reason for the order soon became known throughout our ship and caused intense excitement. A squadron of eight war vessels has been sighted to the north-eastward. Our advance squadron and four iron-clads from those guarding our north flank have gone forward to ascertain who the strangers are. It is barely possible they are Englishmen and friends.

“*Later.*—Another squadron of four or five war ships has just hove in sight to the southward, and rumor says they are flying the Austrian colors. A second detachment of our convoy, composed of three vessels, has been dispatched to meet them, leaving us only two frigates, the Chicago and Manhattan, as a guard. The transports have come to a dead stop, and we are tossing idly about on the waters, awaiting events.

“*July 1st.*—God be praised! the victory is ours, but at what a fearful cost! I scarcely know where to begin with a narration of all the thrilling events which have been crowded into the past twenty-four hours. It all looks to me now like a dreadful dream from which we have awakened to find ourselves pushing on, under full pressure of steam and sail, toward the French coast, already in sight.

“I had gone below about 2 P.M. yesterday to try to find a spare corner to sit down and write to D——, when Captain Collins came rushing down breathlessly, exclaiming: ‘Come, Minor—where are you?—the ball has opened.’ I hastened on deck, and saw far away to the north-east a great cloud of white smoke rising above the sea, through which, here and there, were dimly discernible the masts and spars of the combatants. “Look there, too,” said Collins, pointing in the opposite direction. I turned and saw that our fleet to the southward was also already engaged. Great Heaven! and here we were, fifty thousand good men and true, full of patriotic ardor and fight, compelled to stand idly by and see our fate decided by a score of war ships! The suppressed anxiety and excitement among the men was something terrible. The thought of being sent to the bottom by a stray shot from one of the enemy’s guns was not more terrible than that of defeat, and of being thus ignominiously captured by ship-loads without firing a gun. As we stood with compressed lips and beating hearts listening to the reverberating echoes that came booming over the waters from northward and southward of us, the Chicago signalled ‘About ship,’ and an hour later the transport fleet, headed by the two war ships, had steamed far away to seaward again, in a north-westerly direction, and to a point out of the possible range of the guns of either of the contending fleets. There we lay-to once more, and again the terrible suspense began. The

incessant roar of cannon still reached us from far away over the waters, but the combatants were no longer visible to others than the signal-men aloft.

“ But this quiet did not last long ; it was the dead calm preceding the storm. The cannonading from the southward seemed to grow nearer and nearer, and turning our eyes eagerly in that direction, we perceived that three vessels had detached themselves from the main body of the combatants, and were steering directly toward us. Orders were at once given to beat all the men to quarters. ‘ Steam north-west, and keep together,’ signalled the Chicago, and off we went again seaward, our two escorts following slowly in our wake. But the approaching ships gained on us steadily. ‘ Two Austrians and a Frenchman bearing straight down on us,’ reported the signal-men in the round-top. The Austrians were in the lead, evidently bent on reaching us first, and paying no attention to the French ship which followed them, closely firing as she came. Now was the moment for action. The enemy must have been within five miles of us when we saw the Manhattan suddenly put about and make straight for them, we still steaming away seaward at full speed to keep out of harm’s way. In a few minutes the Austrians rounded to and opened upon her with a full broadside from each, but so far as we could see without checking her course. It was evidently her plan to endeavor to engage them both, until the Frenchman could come up and make the struggle more nearly an equal one. But in vain. One of the enemy kept on, heading straight for us, and when within two miles of us sent a shell which carried away the foremast of one of the transports, and the smoke-stack of another. Now came the Chicago’s turn. Sending her first officer in an open boat to the Alaska to take command as flag officer of the transport fleet, the noble ship, as if endowed with life and conscious of the work before her, put quickly about, and amid the cheers of the soldiers hastened to meet her foe. In spite of the rapidly widening distance between us, we could watch the splendid manœuvring of both vessels as they approached each other. The enemy’s ship had now ceased sending shells after us, and turned its attention to the Chicago. In the midst of the cannonading, there suddenly came a dull rumbling roar, and not long after, the other

Austrian again hove in sight, with the Frenchman engaging her as before, yet both heading direct for us, regardless of the Chicago and her antagonist. 'Crowd on all steam,' signalled the Alaska; yet some of the slower transports, ours included, had already commenced falling behind, and were in imminent danger of being overtaken and captured. Seeing the danger, and determined to protect the transports and troops at every cost, the Chicago, by a sudden feint, turned, and leaving her opponent, pushed to head off the second Austrian, now rapidly nearing the hindmost stragglers. Then began a desperate struggle, the two vessels grappling each other at short range and delivering deadly broadsides, with the muzzles of their guns almost in each other's ports. Such a prodigious rain of iron and steel nothing could long withstand. The Austrian struck her colors, and ten minutes later the Stars and Stripes were flying from her fore, and the Chicago and Frenchman were making for her consort, which had already intercepted and cut off two or three of the hindmost troop-ships. Stray shot from the fight were falling thick around us, yet in the midst of it all the enthusiastic cheering of the troops as they saw our flag run up on the conquered iron-clad could be heard at every interval in the terrific cannonade. And now the Frenchman had grappled with the remaining Austrian frigate, and it was a war to the death. The Chicago, though badly disabled, joined in the attack; but Providence willed that it should be of short duration, for we saw the ill-fated Austrian slowly careen and then disappear beneath the waves, yet delivering a deadly broadside at the last moment, even when her ports were level with the water's edge.

"A hush like that of death ensued for a few moments, and then, when the truth flashed upon us that we were saved, for the time at least, there burst forth from thousands of throats a prolonged outburst of cheering such as can only come from men who have through long hours of peril and anxiety stood helplessly by to watch and pray for victory. The scenes which I saw around me beggared all description. Men who but a half hour before had stood mutely brave in the presence of almost certain death or captivity were now weeping like children, frantically embracing each other, or falling on their knees in fervent thanks to God. But when the first flush of

triumph had passed, we awoke to realize the horrible significance of the scenes through which we had just passed. The *Manhattan* had exploded her magazine and gone to the bottom with all on board ; the commanding officer of the *Chicago* and over a hundred of her officers and crew had been killed outright, and of the survivors barely enough were left uninjured to man the ship ; the *Frenchman* had suffered the least, though her losses were considerable ; on the captured Austrian two thirds of the crew were found dead or wounded, and the surrender had been made by an ensign, who proved to be the ranking surviving officer. The troop-ships had also suffered severely, principally the slower ones, which had been struck by random shots. Our vessel providentially escaped any injury, but the *Damascus* was found to be in a sinking condition, and her troops, consisting of a Virginia battery and a battalion from Baltimore, were transferred without serious loss of life to other vessels. Signals were immediately sent out from the *Alaska* for the foremost transports to slow up and allow the others to rejoin them. The engagement had not lasted over three hours at most, and by six o'clock the bulk of the fleet was close together again, with the *Chicago*, the *Frenchman*, and the Austrian prize near at hand. Meanwhile the roar of cannon had continued without intermission in the quarter to the north-east, where the main engagement had been in progress since early in the afternoon. A dispatch boat brought the intelligence that a fleet composed of eight German and seven Russian iron-clads had made a desperate but futile attack on Admiral Cooper, with the intention of breaking through his lines and reaching the transports. The firing to the southward had also broken out again furiously, and ere long it seemed for awhile that a greater danger than before threatened us, for a fleet of not less than ten or a dozen war ships appeared on the horizon, moving rapidly northward, firing as they came. Again we got the signal to steam seaward, while the gallant *Chicago* and her two consorts once more prepared for action. But suddenly the signal was countermanded—what could it mean ? The reason was soon apparent. We saw the remaining three frigates of the Austrian fleet making under full steam for the scene of the greater combat, pursued by and keeping up a running fire with two of our own and one French

iron-clad ; and to our surprise two splendid double-turret armored ships, which certainly were new arrivals on the scene. “ They are Spaniards,” shouted the signal-men from aloft, and another deafening cheer went up from our decks, and was repeated from ship to ship in the fleet. It was their opportune arrival that had turned the tide of battle and completed the rout of the Austrian squadron. Eagerly now we awaited the issue of the combat still raging to the north-eastward, where, for nearly five long hours, fifteen of our American and French ships had been valiantly defending us against an equal number of the enemy. The scale of battle would, we were certain, turn decisively in our favor so soon as the re-enforcements in the shape of the two Spaniards and the three of our own fleet who were running down the Austrians should reach the scene of the fight. But we were not permitted to stand by and see the result. Our distance from the French coast—we were off St. Nazaire—was estimated at not over a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles, and it was wisely decided by Admiral Cooper, while he was engaging the war ships, to let the transports make a desperate run for it to the south-eastward, and try to make the port of Rochelle. Instructions to this effect reached us about 8 P.M., and then off we went at full speed, soon leaving the incessant roar of cannon far astern. At ten this morning we sighted the French coast (Sables d’Olonne), and now (at 3 P.M.) there is every prospect that before dusk all the transports will be safely riding at anchor, and safe in port.

“ July 4th.—A significant fact it is that this anniversary of American Independence from European tyranny witnesses the first landing of American soldiers on European soil. The debarkation of the troops began early this morning, and our regiment has already gone into camp in the outskirts of the city (Rochelle). In order to expedite the landing of the entire force, a portion of the steamers have gone up the Charente to Rochefort and other points, and it is expected that by tomorrow noon the whole army will be safe on *terra firma* once more, and that, too, within a fortnight after its departure from Fort Monroe. Shades of Columbus ! think of it. The condition and spirit of the soldiers are excellent. In Company B we have with us, answering to roll-call, every man but two



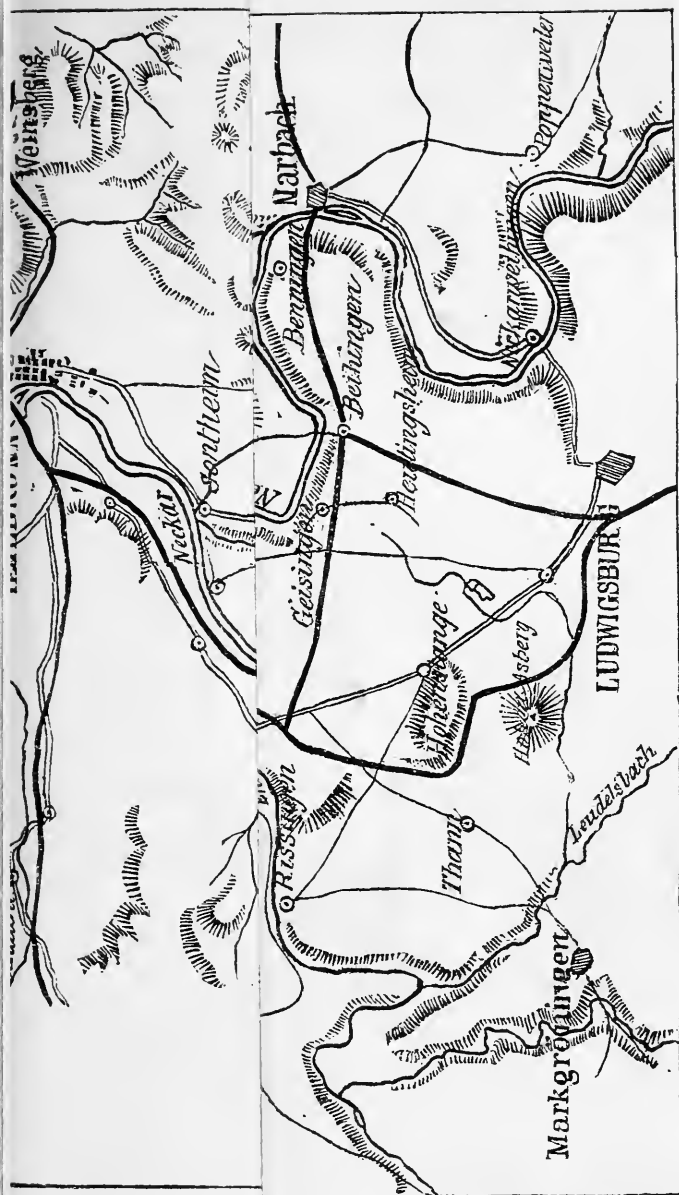
of those who left Kansas City, and of the missing ones, one is in hospital from a fall, and the other was lost overboard at sea. General Fairchild rode past our camp this morning and was enthusiastically cheered.

“*Later.*—We have news from the great naval engagement at last through the French papers, which call it the ‘Battle of St. Nazaire ;’ and the destruction and loss of life on both sides prove to have been appalling. As we supposed, the arrival of the re-enforcements decided the day, and put to flight such of the enemy’s ships as were able to save themselves. But we lost three ships besides the *Manhattan*, and the French two, and it is estimated that, on our side alone, fully two thousand men were put *hors de combat*. We captured four of their iron-clads and sank two more, the rest managing to escape under cover of night. The papers speak of the engagement as surpassing in extent, desperation, and destructiveness any naval battle that has ever before been fought, either in ancient or modern times.”

At this point, my hearers, we will leave the young lieutenant and his diary for awhile and return to a more general view of the great events in which he was participating. You all know of the battle of St. Nazaire, and how it shattered, in the very beginning of the struggle, the prestige of the Imperial navies. It has always been England’s regret that it was not her good fortune to assist in that brilliant victory ; but she succeeded in doing what was perhaps of equal importance, for two days later a powerful British squadron encountered the fugitive remnants of the Imperial fleet in the Channel off Plymouth, and so severely handled them that for six months thereafter not a hostile ship was encountered by the Allied fleets in those waters. But the enemy’s navy, though crippled, was not dead ; it had only turned its hostile attentions elsewhere.

England's firm grasp upon the Suez Canal proved a source of great difficulties to the Imperial plans, and early in the campaign a desperate effort to gain possession of it at any cost had been resolved upon by Russia. It was also imperatively necessary to Russia that she should have free access to and from the Black Sea, and almost her first decisive act was to move upon Constantinople, with a view to commanding the Dardanelles. Turkey had no adequate force to oppose against the overwhelming army of Russians, Roumanians, Bulgarians, and Servians that swooped down upon her. Her troops made a desperate but vain endeavor to stay the advancing hosts, and almost the first news that greeted the American soldiers on landing in France was that Constantinople had fallen, and that Turkey was forever blotted out from the map of Europe. Not so the Turkish army, however. Composed of five hundred thousand trained soldiers, it withdrew to the Asiatic territory only to reappear later and confront its foes at another and more distant point. Its powerful iron-clad navy, too, after a gallant struggle in the Golden Horn, before the surrender, escaped safely into the Mediterranean, and subsequently proved an effective re-enforcement to the Allied fleet in those waters.

At this point, in order to afford some idea of the magnitude of the struggle which was in progress, let us glance for a moment at the number of soldiers placed in the field, and of iron-clad ships put in commission by the respective contestants. I find



MAP OF THE BITURGHEIM BATTLE-FIELD.





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in the London *Times* of August 25th, 1890, the following estimate of the opposing forces as they were at that time distributed :

ALLIED FORCES.  
TROOPS.

NATION.	On or near the Rhine.	Northern frontier of Italy.	Garrisoning Fortresses and Seaports.	In Asia.*	Northern Indian frontier and Afghanistan.	TOTAL.
France..	900,000	—	300,000	—	—	1,200,000
Gt. Brit..	100,000	—	†600,000	—	250,000	950,000
Italy....	—	350,000	100,000	—	—	450,000
Spain..	100,000	—	300,000	—	—	400,000
Turkey..	—	—	—	500,000	—	500,000
U. States	100,000	—	—	—	—	100,000
Total...	1,200,000	350,000	1,300,000	500,000	250,000	3,600,000

IRON-CLADS.

NATION.	Baltic and North Seas.	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	Mediterranean and Black Sea.	Elsewhere.	TOTAL.
France..	19	24	5	14	3	65
Gt. Brit..	15	18	4	16	4	57
Italy.....	—	3	1	20	1	25
Spain....	—	7	1	8	2	18
Turkey..	—	4	—	14	—	18
U. States	2	21	3	—	5	31
Total...	36	77	14	72	15	214

\* After the fall of Constantinople.

† Including the forces scattered in the colonies.

## TRI-IMPERIAL FORCES.

## TROOPS.

NATION.	On or near the Rhine.	Northern frontier of Italy and Tyrol.	In the Balkan Peninsula.	Garrisoning Fortresses and Seaports.	In Central Asia and on Northern Indian frontier.	TOTAL.
Germany	1,000,000	—	—	300,000	—	1,300,000
Russia...	—	—	*750,000	150,000	300,000	1,200,000
Austria..	250,000	400,000	100,000	150,000	—	900,000
Total...	1,250,000	400,000	850,000	600,000	300,000	3,400,000

## IRON-CLADS.

NATION.	Baltic and North Seas.	North Atlantic.	South Atlantic.	Mediterranean and Black Seas.	Elsewhere.	TOTAL.
Germany	14	10	2	5	6	37
Russia...	12	12	4	8	4	40
Austria..	3	6	2	10	2	23
Total...	29	28	8	23	12	100

It will be perceived that, so far as the land forces were concerned, there was no great disparity between the contestants. But the superiority of the Allied forces on the seas was apparent and boded no good to the ultimate success of the Imperial cause,

\* Including Roumanians and Bulgarians.



even should their armies prove temporarily victorious. The fall of the Turkish capital had merely served to draw the lines of battle closer, and had squarely divided the fight between Eastern and Western Europe.

So matters stood then toward the close of that eventful summer. Early in August the second contingent of American troops had landed at Nantes and Cherbourg, having been convoyed over by a fleet of Allied iron-clads so formidable that the enemy had not dared to renew the attack.

The problem of provisioning the immense forces in the field, especially the two and a half million soldiers confronting each other in Central Europe along or near the Rhine, was the most difficult one which the leaders had to solve. The Imperial armies had the advantage of the vast storehouses of Germany and the great granaries of Hungary and Southern Russia at their disposal, and with them the principal difficulty consisted in transporting the provisions with sufficient regularity and promptitude to the front. The Allies, on the other hand, found their resources heavily taxed at first to provide even a supply for their armies sufficient for two days' rations ahead, and for a time it was feared that the grim spectre of starvation, hovering over the Allied camps, would undo and ruin all. Fortunately, the cables to India and America were available in this emergency, and supplies of flour and beef adequate to any demand were soon on the way to Brindisi and Nantes. In September the trans-

port ships returned a third time to Europe loaded down with stores and munitions, and more strongly convoyed than before, no less than fifty iron-clads, detailed from the North Atlantic squadron, accompanying them over. This time the enemy again attacked in force, in mid-ocean, and another desperate engagement ensued. Seven of the transports were sunk by torpedoes and two captured, but the enemy was finally beaten off after a determined fight lasting for two days, in which the Allies, however, lost three of their best ships—the Colossus (English), Saragossa (Spanish), and Wissahickon (American), and the Imperialists two—the Preussen and Hansa (both German). It may here be mentioned that the fleet of provision ships made two more trips similarly convoyed without being again attacked, and the military depots, which were established at Rochefort and Cherbourg, were by the beginning of December stocked with enough provisions to supply all the Allied troops in Europe for six months to come.

It fared worse, however, with the provisions from India. The first fleet of forty transports, laden mostly with grain from the Hoogly, were convoyed up the Red Sea and passed safely through the Suez Canal to the Mediterranean, where they were met by a fleet of fifteen armor-clad frigates, under orders to convoy them to Brindisi. But the convoy was too weak. The British could spare but two ships from guarding the canal; Spain, France, and Italy needed most of theirs for the protection of their Mediterranean coast and seaports, and con-

sequently detailed but one frigate each ; the remainder were drawn from the Turkish fleet, which, since its escape from Constantinople, had been cruising off the coast of Asia Minor, attacking the Austrians or Russians where it could. And now the Imperial squadron in the Mediterranean saw its opportunity and improved it. Off Zantes eighteen of their ships, carrying in all thirty odd guns more than the Allied convoy, boldly attacked and worsted the latter, and sank or captured two thirds of the provision ships, only nine of the latter managing to escape and reach Brindisi in safety. All but one, however, of the Turkish and other Allied frigates escaped ; the engagement was renewed a week later off the Island of Candia, two Italian ships having in the mean time re-enforced the fleet, and this time the Allies gained a victory, though by no means a decisive one. From that time, in view of the vast supplies arriving and to arrive from America, the provisioning of the Allied European troops, via the Suez Canal, was practically abandoned.

Meanwhile the Imperialists, notwithstanding the numerical inferiority of their naval forces, were everywhere aggressive on the seas. Germany especially was putting forth herculean efforts to attack the smaller seaports of her enemies. Oran in Algiers was laid in ashes ; Dieppe, in an unguarded moment, suffered a similar fate, and Cadiz had to undergo a forty-eight hours' bombardment, which was only terminated by the arrival of a superior force of Spanish and French cruisers, who put the

assailants to flight. Three Russian ships suddenly appeared in the Irish Channel one day in September, and before they were disturbed managed to throw enough shells into Cork to burn down half the city. The activity displayed by the enemy was incredible. An Austrian and two German iron-clads which had been sent to the Pacific, where they had played havoc among our own and English merchant vessels, made a hostile demonstration against San Francisco, hoping to shell the city. But a well-aimed torpedo from Fort Alcatraz sent one of them to the bottom, and the others, fearing a similar fate, abandoned the attempt. Great anxiety was nevertheless felt in all the American seaports lest a hostile fleet should suddenly appear in overwhelming numbers, and no efforts were left untried to strengthen the fortifications, mount the heaviest guns, and hold in constant readiness the most approved system of torpedo service. Of the three hundred thousand troops still under arms in the country, one third were detailed for garrison duty, and the remainder, as all fears of a foreign invasion had passed, were dismissed to their homes, subject to call in case of emergency.

Such was the condition of affairs when, one day in December, telegraphic news came from Havana that an Imperial fleet of eighteen iron-clads had suddenly appeared off the Cuban coast and was threatening a demonstration against Moro Castle. Twelve hours later came the intelligence that the bombardment had begun and that Havana was in flames. At that point telegraphic communication

was interrupted, and it was surmised, as afterward proved to be the case, that the city had surrendered. Two days later a dispatch came from South-West Pass that a large number of iron-clads were in the offing and rapidly approaching the entrance to the Mississippi. It proved to be the same Imperial fleet which had captured Havana. The excitement in New Orleans on the receipt of this intelligence was indescribable. Preparations for the defence of the city, it is true, had not been neglected. Forts Jackson and St. Philip had been mounted with very heavy ordnance; half a dozen small iron-clad monitors for river service, each carrying one heavy gun, had been patriotically fitted out and manned by the people of the city themselves; there was an abundant supply of torpedoes, and at three or four points heavy chains were in readiness to be stretched across the stream. Yet all this seemed to promise no adequate means of successful resistance to such an overwhelming force of assailants. Next came the news that the enemy's fleet, numbering fifteen vessels, had passed the jetties and engaged the forts and monitors; the latter vessels were splendidly handled, and fought with daring and desperation; but the enormous shells and solid shot from the enemy's turret ships crashed through their plates as if they were made of paper, and within two hours every one of the six was *hors de combat*. The forts and chains merely served to retard the enemy's vessels, but could not long prevent their advance; then New Orleans seemed doomed. Thousands of non-combatants, principally women

and children, were quickly sent away upon trains and river-boats ; the city was placed under military control ; all those who were not on duty were ordered to remain quietly in their domiciles ; and then for twelve long mortal hours the Crescent City awaited in suspense the arrival of the hostile vessels, at whose commander's mercy it thus unexpectedly found itself.

But the battle was not yet won. At a point on the river some ten miles below the city there was a torpedo-station, which had been established a few years earlier by the Government for experimental practice, and where, since the opening of hostilities, extensive preparations had been made for the reception of any hostile vessels which might succeed in getting so far up the stream. The post was in charge of a captain of ordnance, an experienced and advanced electrician, with a squad of a dozen men ; but even this small force proved quite sufficient for the important duty assigned to it. As the first vessel rounded a bend in the river about a mile away, an electric submarine torpedo, discharged with unerring aim, fastened upon its bow. For an instant the giant craft quivered as if stricken by a cyclone, and in another moment careened and was carried off down the stream by the mighty current, crashing heavily into the next vessel behind it, which had sought too late by dexterous steering to avert the catastrophe. The third vessel sheered off, and passing the other two, rounded the point. Another torpedo, aimed with fatal precision, struck her as she was crossing the current to mid-stream, and the

next instant the roar of a hundred thunders rent the air. The missile had exploded the powder magazine and blown ship, cannon, and crew into the air. Undeterred by this catastrophe, and as yet only surmising its cause, a fourth and a fifth vessel rounded the point abreast of each other ; one was struck, disabled, and, like the first, drifted back upon the vessels behind it ; the other kept on apparently uninjured. A second torpedo was fired at it ; that, too, for some unaccountable reason, missed its aim ; by this time it was nearly abreast of the station. The captain of ordnance aimed a third torpedo with his own hand. The result was almost instantaneous. The iron-clad staggered like a wounded lion, careened, swung helplessly round on the tide, and after drifting a short distance, disappeared beneath the current.

All this had happened within half an hour after the first vessel had come within range ; yet in that short space of time a third of the enemy's fleet had been disposed of. The other vessels wisely stayed their course, seeing that to round the fatal point was certain disaster. Even the whereabouts of the spot from which these deadly missiles emanated was unknown to them. The captain and his squad of soldiers were concealed in a bomb-proof behind the levee embankment, and the submarine torpedoes were discharged through long tubes piercing the levee from the interior of the bomb-proof, and sighted directly upon certain points which an enemy must pass. Two years of constant calculation and experiments at this point had resulted in such pro-

ficiency that it was moderately certain that, with an expert electrician in command, no hostile ship could succeed in passing the six points successively covered by the torpedo tubes radiating from the interior of the bomb-proof.

But to the enemy the location and nature of this unseen deadly foe could only be a matter of surmise. No building, no flag-staff, nothing whatever indicated the existence of the bomb-proof, excavated as it was in the inward slope of the levee. Suddenly came the announcement that the enemy's fleet, lying sheltered from the torpedoes behind the point, was putting a force of men ashore on both banks of the river, with the evident intention of finding and destroying the torpedo station. A battalion of marines, apparently about five hundred strong, was soon afterward to be seen advancing cautiously up the levee on the right bank. But this contingency had also been foreseen and provided against; the marines were driven back with heavy loss by two regiments of Louisiana volunteers who had been brought down from the city to support the torpedo station as soon as it was known that the fleet had passed the forts. The landing party on the left bank marched unopposed up the levee a distance of four or five miles with the river on one side and an impassable morass on the other, and then returned by the way it came. New Orleans was saved. The enemy's fleet made no further endeavor to round the point which had proved so fatal. On the following day it steamed down the river, but only there to encounter fresh disaster. A daring party of



wreckers and fishermen from the Chandeleur Islands had managed under cover of night to sink a schooner laden with stones directly in the channel between the jetties, and the enemy's fleet was caught as in a trap. All efforts to raise the obstruction proved ineffectual, and after a week of vain endeavor to devise some means of escape, the officers, men, and stores were landed at the forts, and the ships were abandoned and blown up to prevent their capture, which was an ultimate certainty. The surrender of the forts themselves proved only a question of time and provisions, and ten days later the entire force of the enemy, about four thousand officers and men, gave themselves up as prisoners of war, and the Stars and Stripes once more waved over the forts.

*(From the Denver Tribune, December 23d, 1890.)*

#### REJOICINGS IN NEW ORLEANS.

THE CITY BRILLIANTLY ILLUMINATED.

HONORS TO CAPTAIN DUTTON AND HIS MEN.

THE VICTORIOUS VOLUNTEERS FÊTED.

*(Special to the Tribune.)*

NEW ORLEANS, DECEMBER 22D.—To-night the Crescent City is one blaze of joy and festivity. The prisoners from the forts were landed at the foot of Poydras Street this afternoon, the non-commissioned officers and men being taken to the Soniat and Freret cotton-presses, and the officers paroled. The Russian Commander von Besikow, the ranking officer of the enemy's fleet, is at the Royal Hotel, where curious crowds have gathered to catch sight of him. The electric illumination covers the entire city from Carrollton to Chalmette, the levee being rendered especially noticeable by the electric lamps at regular intervals for the entire distance. Captain Dutton and

his men were placed in open carriages and drawn through the crowded streets at the head of the military and civic procession which escorted the Crescent and Pelican regiments to Lafayette Square on their return from St. Charles Parish, where the mayor congratulated them in the name of the city and State on their gallant repulse of the enemy's marines, and defence of the torpedo station. At the present hour (11 P.M.) the city is given over to music, mirth, and revelry, and the best of order and good feeling prevail.

This disaster proved fatal to the naval prestige of the Imperial Allies, and caused great and universal rejoicing throughout the Union. The captain—Dutton was his name—who, by his skill and coolness, had so largely contributed to the victory, was brevetted a colonel, and Congress ordered a commemorative medal of gold struck off for him and similar ones of silver for his men and the Chandeleur fishers, and pensioned them all for life.

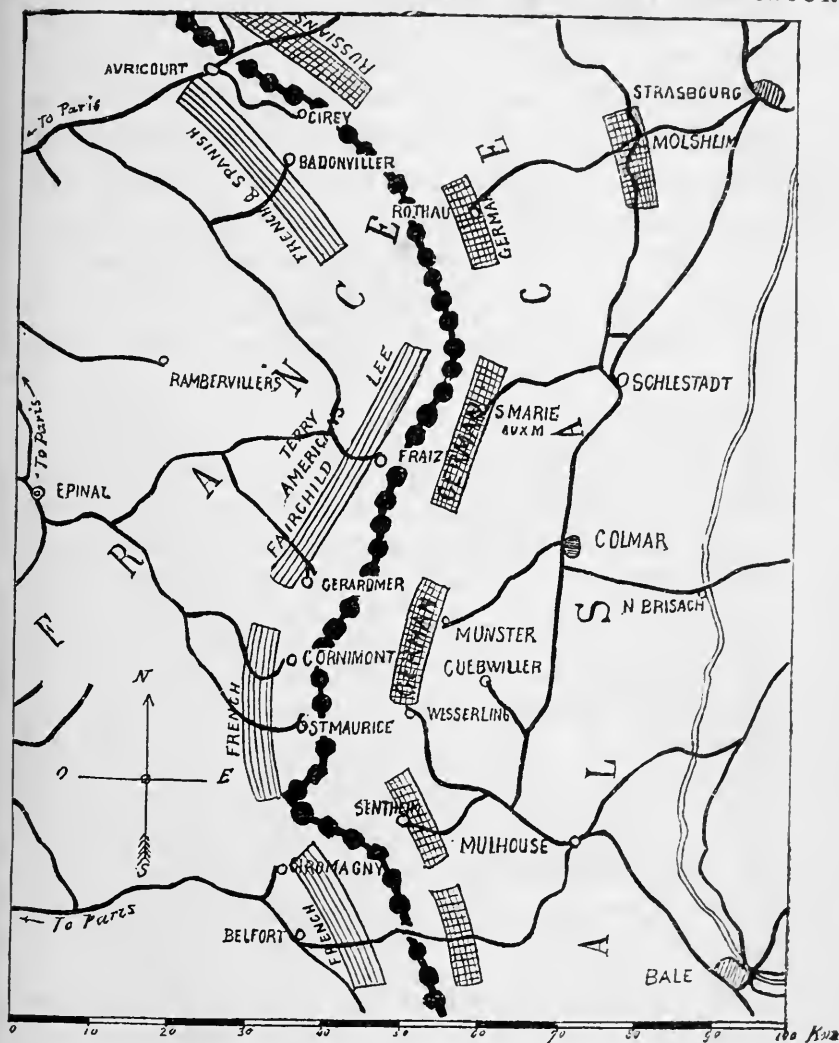
The land operations meanwhile on the European continent up to the close of 1890 had, while not proving in any way decisive for either contestant, resulted in the main favorably to the Imperial forces. The fighting between the Austrians and Italians along the Tyrolese frontier had been continuous and bloody, now resulting in a victory for the one and now for the other, but with no practical advantage to either. The Swiss had strongly fortified and garrisoned the approaches to the St. Gotthard, and had been unavoidably drawn into several sharp engagements in defence of their frontier lines, but otherwise maintained a strictly defensive policy. It was now toward the immense armies confronting each




other in Central Europe that the eyes of the world were turned, for upon them depended, as was generally believed, the final issue of the struggle. The Allied armies seemed the more disposed of the two to assume the aggressive, but it was not until January (1891) that a general advance at all points was begun. Four great armies of three hundred thousand men each were simultaneously put in motion, with Cologne, Coblentz, Metz, and Strasbourg as objective points. One half of the American contingent operated with the army moving upon Metz; the other half, and that one with the movements of which we are especially concerned, had been incorporated into the Army of the Vosges, which, under the command of General Boulanger, was massed along the Alsatian frontier, prepared to operate upon Strasbourg. The condition of the army was in the main good, though the long period of forced inaction, while it had been used to improve the discipline and efficiency of the troops, had told somewhat upon their *morale*, especially among the American and Spanish forces, who had hoped long ere this to have been led against the enemy. The familiar cry, "I want to go home," had begun here and there to be heard, though only in jest, through our camp; and it was therefore with enthusiasm unbounded that the news of an early forward movement was received. In order that the position of the Army of the Vosges and the enemy's troops opposed to it may be made clear at a glance, I have had prepared the following rough sketch showing the adjacent frontier sections of France and Alsace

(then German territory) in which the two armies were located and to operate. The frontier line here shown passes for its entire distance—say from Belfort to Avricourt—through the mountain region known as the Vosges, or in German as the Vogesen. No railroad then crossed the frontier between the two points mentioned, but you will observe that numerous spur and branch railroads run down to points close to the frontier on the French side, furnishing means for throwing heavy bodies of troops upon nearly any given border point at short notice. From these railway termini—viz., Giromagny, St. Maurice, Cornimont, Gerardmer, Fraize, Badonviller, and Cirey, good post roads, passing through charming valley scenery, led over the frontier into the Alsatian (German) territory. All of these passes were strongly fortified and garrisoned, and there had been constant skirmishing and occasional artillery duels going on at the outposts all along the line for two months prior to the general advance. In December the cold had been severe, considerable snow had fallen, and the men, though for the most part comfortably housed, had begun to feel seriously the rigor of the climate. This added to the satisfaction felt at the announcement of an intended general attack.

The position occupied by the American troops extended along the frontier line from Fraize to Gerardmer, General Terry's and General Fairchild's headquarters being at the latter point, and General Fitzhugh Lee's at the former. The vanguard which was to lead the attack at this point was Potter's

MAP I. SHOWING FIELD OF OPERATION AGAINST STRASBOURG.



-  Frontier Line
-  Allied forces
-  Imperial forces

1. SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE ...



...  
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division of four brigades of Ohio, Michigan, Minnesota, and Missouri troops, which was stationed at a little hamlet called Le Collet, not over a mile from the frontier line, supported by Dewey's division in reserve. It was on the morning of January 4th that the general cannonade was opened. But just here let our young Kansas lieutenant turn once more to his note-book, and recall some of the memories of that and the succeeding days.

*“Camp at Longemer, January 4th, 1891.—*At three o'clock this morning I was roused out of a sound sleep by Captain Campbell, who came to say that the division was ordered under arms at daybreak. Shortly after that orders came for the men to turn out and hold themselves in readiness to march, with three days' rations and full cartridge-boxes. At seven the brigade was paraded for inspection and then addressed by General Massey, who told the men that a general advance had been ordered, and that the long-looked-for opportunity to be led against the enemy would soon be offered them. He urged every man, officer, and private to remember that upon him individually devolved the duty of upholding the honor of the Stars and Stripes and carrying them to victory. The general was vociferously cheered as he rode away at the head of his staff. At eight o'clock precisely, by preconcerted movement, all the batteries opened simultaneously upon the German positions on the neighboring heights, the enemy replying vigorously. The noise of the cannonading is indescribable. From far and near, from northward and southward, as well as along our front, comes the unceasing, deafening roar of heavy siege guns, mingled with discordant reverberations and echoes from the mountain-sides. It is now late in the afternoon; we have been under arms all day; ambulances with wounded men have begun to come in along the post-road leading by our camp-ground to Gerardmer; staff officers and couriers are dashing past in all directions; but as yet we have had no orders to move. Williams of our company, who carried some water to a wounded Missourian in an ambulance, learned that

the men have been exposed to a constant and heavy shelling at the front, but no engagement as yet.

“*Near Le Collet, January 5th, noon.*—Last night the artillery firing was kept up without intermission, our men having got the range of the enemy’s positions. About 10 p.m. the brigade was suddenly called to attention and marched down here to the front with other troops to re-enforce the reserves, as an attack from the enemy’s infantry was looked for under cover of the darkness. They made none, however, and most of us, notwithstanding the racket, managed to get a few winks of broken sleep, lying down on our blankets wherever we happened to halt. It was a bright starlight, and the effect produced among the dark valleys by the constant flashes of firing was indescribably grand, notwithstanding the excitement and discomfort of the surroundings. When morning dawned we found ourselves, with large numbers of other troops, massed in close columns of brigades a quarter of a mile or so to the westward of a little hamlet (Le Collet), and pretty well sheltered from the enemy’s shells, though two men from our brigade have been carried off wounded. In Le Collet the shells—and enormous ones—have been falling thickly this morning, and every building has been destroyed. The signal officer, who had set up his telephone in one of them, was killed outright while in the act of communicating with General Terry at Retournemer, and now the telephone service is being carried on from a knoll in the immediate neighborhood of where our regiment lies. Word comes that the advance of our left from Fraize under General Lee has been partially successful, and that a division of Virginians and North and South Carolinians have gained and held since day-break a strong foothold just over the enemy’s line. This rumor, whether true or not, only stimulates our men’s impatience. The suspense is indeed dreadful.

“*Munster, January 8th.*—My first thought as I reopen this note-book and take out my pencil to write is one of thankfulness and wonder that I have been spared through all the dangers and terrors of the last three days. At last I realize what war really means.

“When I made my last entry we were massed near Le Collet, prepared to attack. Half an hour later there came suddenly a



lull—an inexplicable one—in the enemy's firing, and we were ordered to the assault. The men fixed bayonets and went forward at a run, the enemy's shells cutting long swathes through our advancing ranks. Directly before us, as we left Le Collet behind, was a broad open, sloping down to a brook, on the farther side of which the ground rose again some two hundred yards to a line of woods, in which the enemy's sharpshooters were thickly posted. Our first line (Potter's and Dewey's divisions) went across the open, over the watercourse and up the other side, in splendid alignment, leaving many dead and wounded as they went, yet instantly closing up the gaps, steadily pushing on shoulder to shoulder, and never wavering until they reached the edge of the woods, where they halted to give three ringing Yankee cheers, afterward disappearing into the forest. Next came our line (Walton's and Buckley's divisions), at an interval of three hundred yards behind them, and before we had even reached the brook the men began to fall, for the enemy had now concentrated his fire on this spot, and was straining every effort to prevent us from gaining the cover of the opposite woods. Yet our line pressed firmly on. General Massey was shot dead from his horse just as he reached the farther side of the brook, and was gallantly waving his sword and shouting to his command to follow him. Colonel Henry, of the Third Iowa, at once sprang forward to take his place, and though afoot, led the men at a run up to the verge of the forest. Then three more ringing Yankee cheers rent the air. The third line (James's and Waterman's divisions) was already close behind us, and we pushed on up the steep wooded slope, now thickly strewn with the enemy's dead and wounded. The first line had by this time reached another cleared and comparatively level space farther up the mountain-side, and there met a terrific musketry fire from the enemy's infantry, whom they now for the first time encountered in force. Our men charged at a run and went in with their bayonets. But the German troops stood like a stone wall, poured a square volley into their faces, and then engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with the survivors. Of the two divisions of Potter and Dewey, which entered the attack fifteen thousand strong, not over one half reached the German line. One regiment alone, the Fifth Missouri, had all three of

its field officers, nine line officers, and over four hundred men killed on the field, and came out of the fight commanded by a first lieutenant. Our second line now charged down upon the enemy, bayonet in hand, as its predecessor had done, and speedily cleared the field, taking many prisoners. By the time our third line emerged, cheering, from the woods, the conflict, for the moment at least, was over, and the victory was ours.

"I should like here to record my impressions on first seeing the German soldiers. I do not mean the poor fellows whom we saw wounded and dying on the ground about us as we charged up the wooded hillside, but the line of battle which we saw confronting our first line as it swept down upon them with the bayonet. It stood there as immovable as the rock-ribbed hills about it, looking like a military command on holiday parade, while our men were approaching at the double-quick, with a long, glistening line of pointed steel. We saw all this as we emerged from the woods. Our first line was already within a hundred yards of the enemy, cheering and exultant; then the German infantry, as one man, in an instant went through the '*Ready*,' '*Aim*,' '*Fire*!' and belched forth a shower of lead that made our line recoil for an instant, and left a swathe of blue coats where it struck. I cannot imagine anything more heroic or more perfect in point of military order and discipline than this long line of helmeted soldiers, standing like a stone wall, delivering their fire as a single man, and then springing to the death-grapple with their foe. Their loss must have been enormous. Of the gallantry of our own men, most of whom were then brought for the first time under fire, I cannot say enough. Theirs was not the mechanical, clock-work discipline of their drilled opponents, but there was a vim, a dash, a determination in their charge that no human force could withstand.

"The telephone field wires had speedily followed us over the ground just won, and ten minutes later orders came from General Fairchild for the remnants of Potter's and Dewey's commands to fall back as reserves, until they could rally and reorganize. This brought our line to the front. As yet our losses had not been very heavy. Burke and Whitman of our company were killed and Corporal Fulton wounded as we charged

over the brook, and our whole regiment had lost perhaps fifty men in all, including Major Briggs, who was carried to the rear with a ball through the shoulder. But we were not left long to count the casualties. With all the fury of a hurricane an artillery fire suddenly opened upon us from three sides, forcing our line to move off by the left flank and find partial shelter in a forest farther on. Meanwhile the enemy's infantry were ominously silent ; no re-enforcements had appeared to support the line we had driven with the bayonet ; our own troops were meantime reported as moving forward in force at all points, and as being engaged in storming batteries all along the line. But we soon found out where their infantry were. A sudden and violent fusillade, and then a continued rattling, tearing fire of musketry far to the rear presently reached our ears. The enemy had executed a daring flank movement under cover of their artillery fire and were pouring down, by brigade after brigade, upon our late positions at Le Collet, Retournemer, and Longemer. But we were prepared for them there. A message came from General Fairchild : ' Hold the ground you have won, and push forward where possible.' But meanwhile the attack on him was a desperate one. He had about twenty thousand men still in reserve in his strongly fortified camps to repel it. The German lines came up to the assault only to melt away like snow in July before the withering fire of cannon and rifles. I have learned since that one command succeeded in making a dash and planting the German colors on the very verge of our earthworks, but only to be driven back in a shattered and broken mass. The movement was heroic, but vain. The assaulting party were driven back, and their fleeing and disordered remnants encountered once more those of our forces who had gained a foothold on their territory. The struggle was soon over. Our fresh divisions rushed impetuously upon them with the bayonet, and they thus found themselves hemmed in front and rear, and were made prisoners to the last man.

"The day was now already waning. It was nearly four o'clock, and the rays of the descending sun vainly strove to pierce the sulphurous cloud that had settled down like a pall over hill and valley. Yet for us the day was not done. ' Advance,' came the order, and our line now led the van. Behind

us came James's and Waterman's divisions, and behind them, in turn, masses of blue coats whom the general had promptly pushed forward from the reserves as soon as the assault on our works was foiled. 'Forward,' was the word all along the line. 'Now, men, do your duty, and the day is ours!' shouted our brigade commander, and off we started again, advancing slowly and cautiously up a rocky, thinly-wooded mountain-side, keeping the best alignment that was possible under the circumstances. The cannonading had now ceased, and an ominous stillness reigned in our immediate vicinity. It was suddenly broken by an outburst of prolonged cheering and musketry firing far away to the left. The order came, 'Halt!' and we stood still where we were. The cheering and firing drew nearer and nearer, like an advancing storm sweeping down upon us. In less time than it takes me to tell it there came rolling upon us a solid wave of German infantry. They did not stop to cheer, to hurrah, to make any exultant demonstrations; they simply moved forward upon us with fixed bayonets, like an advancing palisade of bristling steel. 'Stand firm, men,' rang out clear and loud the voice of Colonel Henry, and the cry was scarcely repeated up and down the line ere the enemy was upon us. It was iron against iron, steel against steel, German courage and discipline against American courage and dash. I remember parrying the thrust of an officer's sword aimed at my throat, and of seeing him fall shot through the head by Color-Sergeant Bull; there was a whirr, a clash, oaths, shrieks, groans, and then, with three cheers that ring in my ears yet, our second line came dashing in upon the assailants, and once more—though at dreadful cost—the field was ours. 'Forward now, men, forward,' came the order, and those of us who survived rallied once more around the colors and pushed on up the slope. The passage was no longer obstructed. The over-confident enemy had staked all his chances on the final assault at this point, and had lost. That evening at six we bivouacked above a gorge known as 'the Schlucht,' through which the post-road runs from Munster over the frontier to Gerardmer. By daylight we pushed on again, but encountered no enemy. The cannonading had not been renewed. Suddenly came the joyful news that our Second Corps, under Fitzhugh Lee, had, after desperate fighting, reached

Kaisersberg on the previous afternoon, thus outflanking the enemy, who had fallen back precipitately on Colmar.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ When we reached this place (Munster) we found it crowded with the enemy’s wounded and dying ; detachments have been sent back to succor our own sufferers, and gather our dead comrades’ bodies for burial. The losses have been terrible. Our regiment has been consolidated into six companies of eighty men each. Captains Watson, Bingham, Lowell, and Crooks are all killed, and First-Lieutenant Johnston of my company is lying at Le Collet mortally wounded with a bayonet-thrust. We have only fourteen line officers left on duty. In Company B, which went into the fight seventy-six strong, only thirty-eight officers and men came out uninjured.”]

The great battle of Hoheneck, a portion of which we have just heard described, was fought entirely by American and German troops, and has passed into history not only as the most desperate hand-to-hand encounter with the bayonet between heavy masses of troops that had ever been recorded, but also as a masterpiece of military strategy on the part of General Terry, the American commander. All the firmness and bravery displayed by the first corps on the right of the line on that day would have been unavailing but for the equal courage and endurance of the second corps, which, advancing from Fraize, outflanked the enemy’s positions, and compelled his withdrawal to the valley of the Rhine. The day had been one of varied chances, however ; for it must be remembered that the American troops formed scarcely a fifth part of the vast army which was closing in upon Strasbourg. There had been desperate and bloody battles at Belfort and Avricourt and at several other intermediate points, at

some of which the French and Spanish were victorious, at others driven back with frightful carnage. General Boulanger was, however, quick to utilize the passage forced by the American troops, and within three days, by a dexterous and rapid concentration of his soldiers, threw two hundred thousand men into lower Alsace by way of Fraize, Gerardmer, and Belfort, leaving the remainder of his troops in the vicinity of Nancy and Avricourt to repel any flank movement aimed in the direction of Paris.

It is not my purpose, my hearers, to rehearse to you in detail this evening the succession of bloody engagements in which the Imperial armies contested, step by step, the slow but irresistible advance of the Allies along the Rhine to Colmar, to Strasbourg, to Carlsruhe ; to tell how Metz fell by assault, and how the Allies vainly laid siege to the impregnable fortress at Coblenz ; to record the disasters that befell their arms in the memorable campaign against Cologne and the Prussian Rhine provinces ; all these are matters of history known to every school-boy. Suffice it to remind you that by the end of February, 1891, a concentration of forces on both sides was effected. The Imperialists had drawn five hundred thousand men from the armies defending Cologne and Coblenz and massed them, for some unknown purpose, at Darmstadt. The remnants of their defeated armies from Metz and Strasbourg, still numbering in all some three hundred and fifty thousand men, occupied a line with its right resting

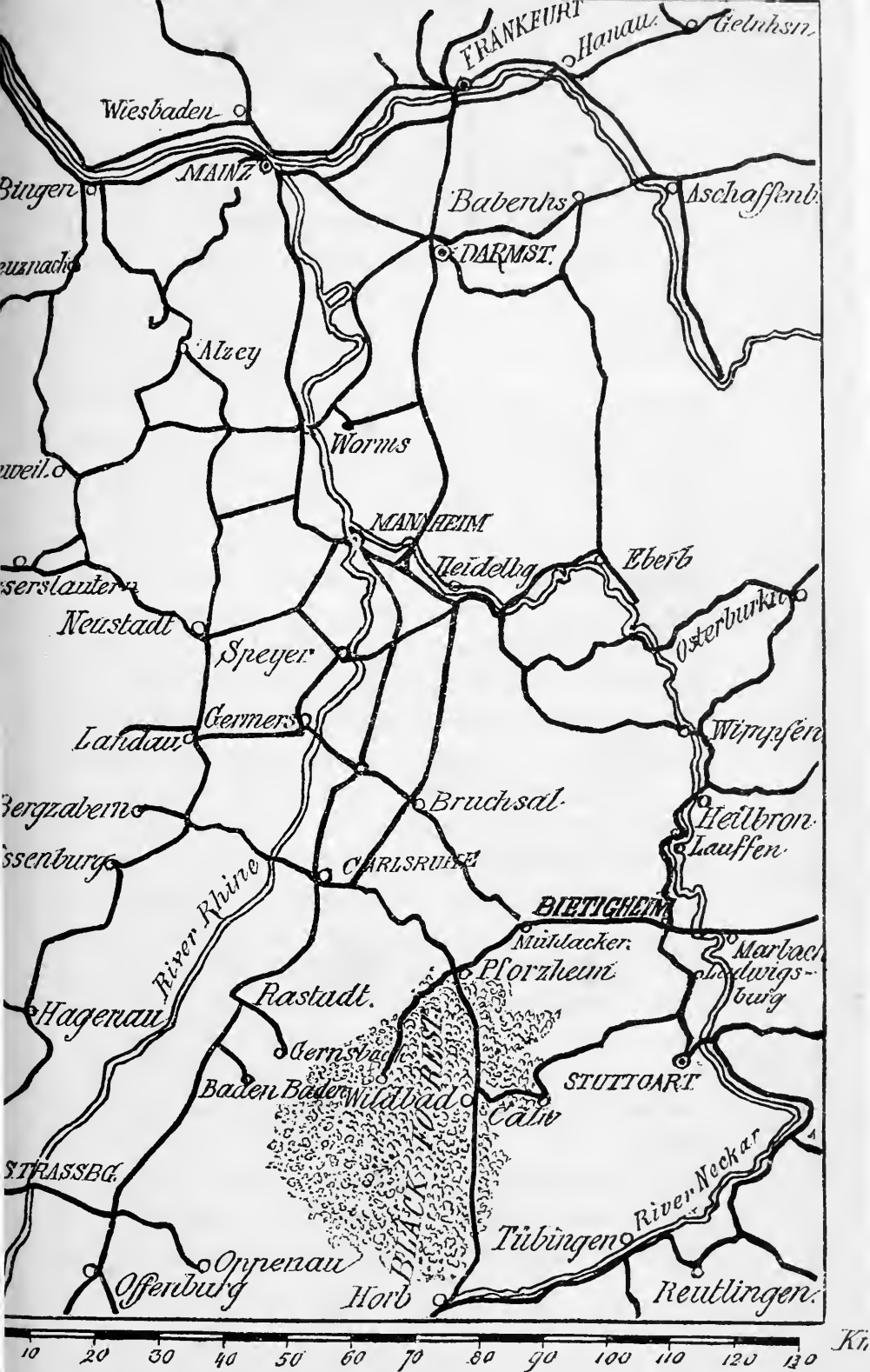
on Mannheim and extending eastward across the Rhine valley to Heidelberg, and thence down the valley of the Neckar as far as Heilbron.

Of the Allied forces, most of the troops besieging Coblenz had been withdrawn by way of Trier and Saarbrücken to the neighborhood of the Rhine opposite Karlsruhe, where they had formed a junction with the victorious army of General Ducrot, advancing eastward after the capture of Metz. These joint armies, four hundred and fifty thousand strong, crossed the Rhine at Rheinbad late in February and took up a position with their left resting on that point and extending thence in a semicircle through Karlsruhe and Bruchsal to Muhlacker, an important railroad junction on the northerly verge of the Black Forest, and on the Würtemberg frontier. The Army of the Vosges, which, notwithstanding its severe campaigning, had still about two hundred and fifty thousand men available for active service, was massed on the Rhine plain, in the vicinity of Rastadt, ready to co-operate with the other army as occasion might render necessary. The manifest disparity of the forces now arrayed caused the Allied leaders unmistakable alarm, especially as the Imperialists were evidently meditating some daring movement, the nature of which it was impossible to divine. Under these circumstances, hurried orders were sent to General Cirrey, commanding the Army of the North, which, after its defeat before Cologne, had fallen back on Verviers, to detach with all possible haste two hundred thousand men for the re-enforcement of the Allied forces

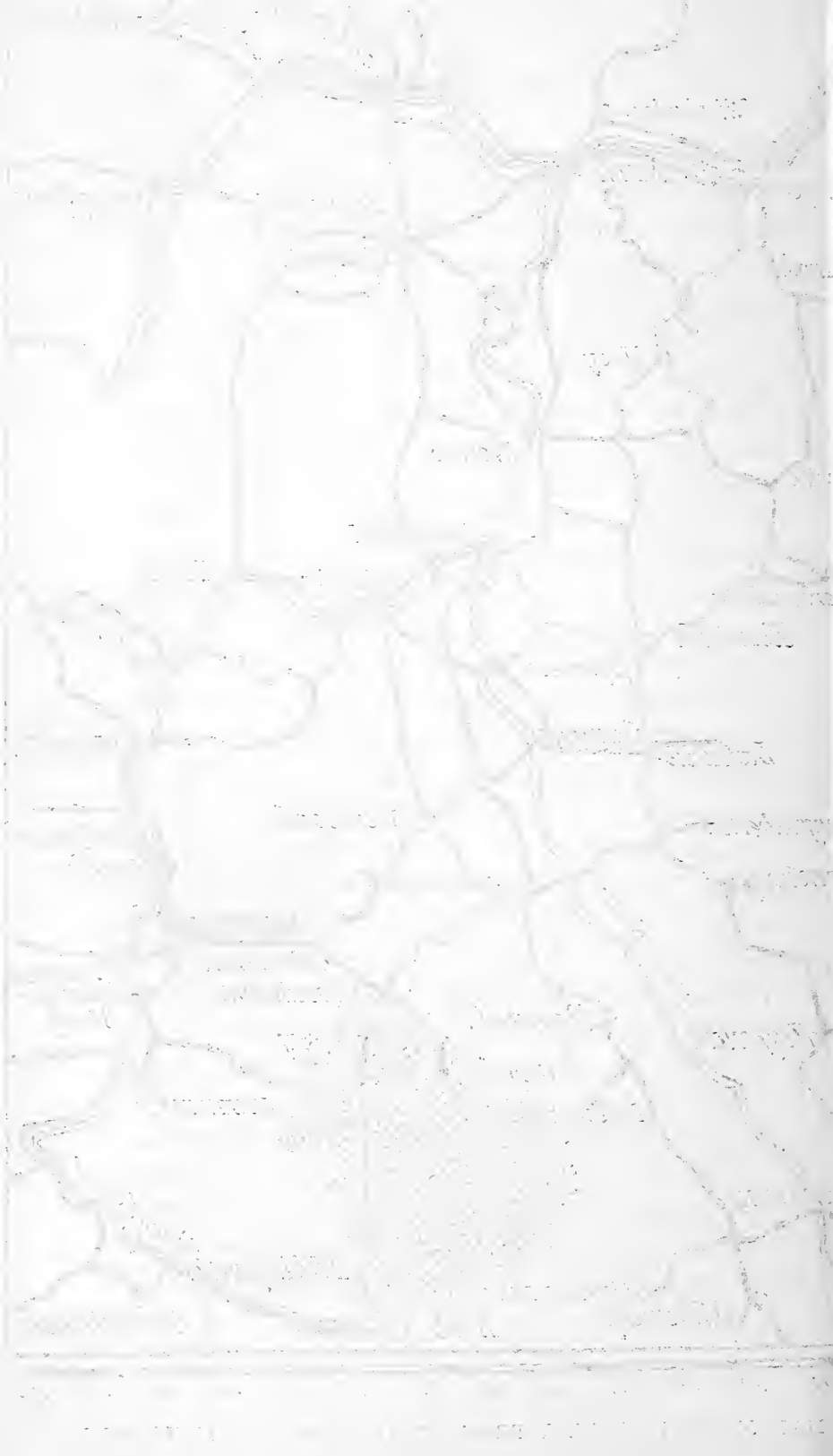
around Carlsruhe. This could the better be done at this stage of the campaign for the reason that Belgium had during January finally cast in her lot with the Allies and put in the field seventy-five thousand men who were now ready to assume the defensive and replace to some extent the troops detached by General Cirrey. The movement was promptly begun, and as soon as the fresh troops began to arrive the Allied leaders took fresh courage, and, without waiting for the enemy to assume the initiative, determined to bring on a general engagement at once. To this end the right of the line was pushed forward from Muhlackertoward Bietigheim, an important railroad junction, the possession of which would virtually outflank the enemy's left wing at Heilbron. It was a desperate move, but one which, if successful, would prove almost certain victory to the Allies. Bietigheim controlled the main Trans-Continental railway line from Paris to Vienna, and was also the junction point from which connection was made north-westward to Heilbron, Frankfort, and the lower Rhine, and north-eastward, *via* Nürnberg, to Berlin. To seize this point, outflank the astonished Imperialists, and leave them the alternative of falling back or delivering battle with the Allies on a field of the latter's own choosing—this was the plan decided upon in a council of war which assembled at Carlsruhe on the 24th of February, 1891.

The movement began on the following day, it being calculated that the re-enforcements from General Cirrey would all be on the scene of action





MAP OF SEAT OF WAR FROM STRASBOURG TO BIETIGHEIM.



within the next forty-eight hours. Some thirty thousand of them had arrived at or near Carlsruhe, forty thousand were already to Saarbrücken, eighty thousand were *en route* at Luxembourg, and the remainder at various points between there and Verdiers, yet being forwarded with all possible speed to the coming theatre of war. Accordingly, on the morning of February 25th two army corps of French and American troops were pushed forward from Muhlacker toward Bietigheim, meeting at first with but little opposition, so unexpected was the movement. Heavy reserves from Bruchsal and Pforzheim were hurried forward with orders to keep within supporting distance of the vanguard, and the troops from Carlsruhe were advanced to replace them, their places in turn being taken by the troops from General Cirrey as fast as they arrived. Simultaneously the Army of the Vosges was ordered to move by the right from its position on the Rhine plain around Rastadt and Baden-Baden, and passing by forced marches through the Black Forest, to follow down the valley of the Enz to Bietigheim. The enemy quickly perceived the movement, and at first evidently took it as merely a feint, and made but slight effort to resist it. So engrossed were they with their own projected piece of strategy, whatever it was, that they failed to realize that their opponents had indeed been the first to open the ball and bring on a general engagement. But when the movement had fully developed, and it was seen that the entire Allied armies had taken the aggressive and were moving as one man by an organized and

preconcerted movement upon a vitally important strategic point, *then* the Imperialists suddenly awoke to a consciousness that their schemes had gone aglee—that they had been caught napping. But their dispositions of troops to meet the new emergency were promptly made. Two hundred thousand men were hurried up the Neckar Valley to Heilbron and thence to Lauffen, a few miles farther up the stream, where they formed a line of battle facing southward, with its right resting at a point called Brackenheim; another army of four hundred thousand Imperial troops, mostly Russians and Austrians, were started eastward from Heidelberg and ordered to occupy a line extending from north-west to south-east, the right resting on Jagstfeld on the Neckar. The balance, two hundred and fifty thousand German troops, were brought down from Darmstadt to the Rhine plain between Heidelberg and Mannheim and there held in readiness to be flung suddenly upon any point within striking distance. All these movements took up the best part of the 25th, 26th and 27th of February. During their execution there was little or no skirmishing among the opposing forces, but all the lines of railroads and all the post-roads and highways converging toward the destined scene of action were thronged with artillery, cavalry, and infantry, and the grim spectre of impending battle hovered over all.

On the night of February 27th, all along the valley of the lower Neckar, and over a wide expanse of the open, undulating country to the east, south, and west, blazed the countless bivouac fires of the

mighty armies toward which the eyes of the civilized world were anxiously turned, and upon which depended the political destinies of Europe. It was indeed a solemn moment, and one pregnant with weal or woe for the cause of civilization and of liberty. Here stood the Imperial despotism of the olden times, arrayed in all its gorgeous panoply, and confident in all the might of modern warfare. Here stood, confronting it, the enlightened freedom of Western Europe and of the New World, eager to do it battle then and there in the sacred cause of progress and humanity. Here were a million and a half of men sleeping on their arms and awaiting a morrow which for many of them was to be the last on earth. Senseless and unfeeling indeed must he have been who could have stood in the midst of such a solemn scene on that starlight night, and gazing on the silent hosts around him, or reverting to his loved home and anxious friends far away, been indifferent to the thought of what for him, for his comrades, for his country, his cause, the morrow should have in store.

Long before dawn all was in motion : long lines of infantry moving into position, batteries being planted on every available height, and fresh troops constantly arriving on the ground from all directions. The prompt seizure of the heights on both sides of the Enz Valley, overlooking Bietigheim, by the French and American advance, had secured the Allies an immense advantage ; so too had the possession of the railway viaduct, a stone structure a

quarter of a mile long, crossing the stream at that point, which had been fortified, and now bristled with cannon pointed up the valley. Daylight discovered the Imperialists strongly entrenched on the heights extending westward from the Neckar at Kirchheim, where, with incredible speed and activity, they had mounted hundreds of guns of the heaviest calibre ; they had also occupied the heights along the Neckar from Kirchheim down to Gemmingheim, and planted batteries at every available point. Their infantry, massed by close columns of divisions in solid blocks of forty thousand men each, had been advanced to within supporting distance of the artillery. The Allies had the advantage in position, however, for they had occupied all of the numerous knobs and hills rising abruptly out of the comparatively level landscape to the north and west of Bietigheim, and had made them all but impregnable to assault. Their cannon were also thickly planted on the range of hills extending north-westward from the Sachsenheims to Hohen Haslach. Their infantry was similarly massed in solid blocks ready to support the artillery. At and around Bietigheim village were seventy thousand men, consisting of French troops and General Gibbon's (Third) American corps from the victorious army of Metz. These troops were all from New England and New York, as were also the greater part of General Miles's (Fourth) corps, which was massed at Gross Sachsenheim, twenty thousand strong. The Army of the Vosges was massed in reserve along the Enz to the south-west of Bietigheim. Upon its commander,

General Boulanger, had devolved, as ranking officer, the leadership of the Allied armies on that eventful day. The Crown Prince of Germany was present directing in person at Heilbron the movements of the Imperial army.

It were idle, my hearers, for one to attempt, in the space of a single lecture, to give a description of this memorable engagement, which brought into action a million and a half of soldiers, covered an area of twenty square miles of territory, continued without intermission for four days, witnessed repeated encounters, marked by the most desperate valor, between immense bodies of troops, and left over two hundred thousand men dead upon the field. It has oft and truly been said that Bietigheim ranks first and foremost among the decisive battles of the world's history; certainly upon no other field has there ever been displayed a more reckless valor, a more determined resistance, a more persistent sacrifice of human lives. It was as if a dozen ordinary battles were being fought simultaneously side by side, each without regard to the progress of the other. Tens of thousands of men were hurled headlong upon belching batteries as if their lives were worth no more than those of so many sheep or cattle, and when they had fallen tens of thousands of others were found to take their places only to meet a similar fate. It was a carnival of carnage, which ended only with the sheer exhaustion of the surviving combatants. Looking back to those four days into which, for him who addresses

you, seem to have been crowded the experiences of a century, it is difficult to realize how any other than the possessor of a charmed life could have come out unharmed from that deadly rain of iron, lead, and steel, from that pandemonium where all the horrors and sufferings of the infernal regions seemed to have been let loose to blight and wither the fair face of God's earth. Let those of you who here in America, during those days of agony and suspense, watched and waited for news from that distant battle-field, recall the alternations of grief and joy, of hope and despair, which came flashed to you under the ocean's depths, in hourly bulletins, from the scene of action. To the younger members of my audience, whose memories do not reach back to that eventful period, I can perhaps give no better idea of the varying phases of the battle than to quote here some of those bulletins, as I find them in the New York *Herald* of that date :

(By Mackay-Bennett Cable.)

“*Muhlacker, February 28th, 3 P.M.*—The engagement has now become general. Two Russian and an Austrian army corps, estimated eighty thousand strong, have seized Gross Bottwar, and are moving southward on Steinheim and Marbach to turn our right flank. General Miles with forty thousand men has seized the junction at Beihingen, and posted a heavy artillery force on the adjacent heights. Re-enforcements are being pushed forward to him with all possible haste. On our left the French and Spanish troops have advanced and occupied Cleebrohn, threatening the enemy's right flank, and compelling the withdrawal of some of his artillery. A desperate engagement between French and Germans is reported to have taken place at Wahlheim, where fifty thousand men were engaged on both sides. The French were forced back upon Lochgau and



Besigheim with heavy losses, but our artillery prevented the enemy's further advance. The cannonading continues without intermission. As yet none of the American troops have been engaged.

" *Later, 4 P.M.*—The signal corps reports heavy bodies of the enemy's infantry moving off by the left flank from Heilbron and Laufen. This indicates an intended attack in force upon our right. The Russians and Austrians have halted at Steinheim, evidently waiting to be re-enforced. A desperate battle is in progress for the recovery of Cleebrohn. General Cirrey's troops are arriving in force from Saarbrücken and Luxembourg. Two corps were sent forward this morning from Carlsruhe to the front.

" *5 P.M.*—The enemy have recaptured Cleebrohn and driven our line back to Freudenthal with terrific loss on both sides. The German infantry made three successive charges, the last of which was successful, but it is estimated to have cost them not less than fifteen thousand men. The French General of Division Mallot, and a host of field and line officers were killed. The victorious Germans, under Von Schlemwitz, are now pushing forward upon Freudenthal, the capture of which would compel the withdrawal of much of the artillery on our left. General Ducrot has ordered forward the corps of Arnot and Du Vivier to oppose von Schlemwitz's advance.

" *8 P.M.*—The day's operations have undoubtedly been favorable in the main to the Imperialists, who have now concentrated a heavy force, estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand men, opposite our right, ready to attack to-morrow, and have also advanced their lines from one to two miles along our entire front. General Cirrey's troops are being hurried forward with all possible dispatch ; and the entire Army of the Vosges has been ordered up, under command of General Terry, to support the Allied right at Beihingen and Bietigheim. Notwithstanding to-day's repulse, the troops are in good spirits ; but everything indicates desperate fighting on the right to-morrow. The *Herald* balloon at Bietigheim reports all the roads to the north and east crowded with the enemy's infantry moving in the direction of Gross Bottwar, Steinheim, and Marbach.

" *March 1st, noon.*—The enemy's plan of battle is now fully

developed. It is to fall upon the Allies' right flank at Bietigheim in overwhelming force, at the same time advancing his reserves on the Rhine plain, and carrying Carlsruhe by assault, thus cutting off further re-enforcements from General Cirrey, and hemming General Boulanger in on all sides, except the south. This movement began at daylight this morning. The Imperialists during the night had posted batteries along the heights from Marbach to Pleidelsheim, and also south of our advance posts around Neckarweihingen, and at half-past six opened a tremendous fire. After two hours' cannonading their infantry appeared in strong force, advancing across the open country, from the north, east, and south, in long double lines, half a mile apart. The Allied forces had been under arms since 5 A.M., and the artillery did good execution at long range. During the night General Boulanger advanced the Army of the Vosges to Geissingen and Hietingsheim, and threw forward the main body of the troops into the peninsula formed by a long bend in the Neckar at this point. It is a natural fortress, a semicircle of hills, with the river skirting their base, and but one bridge—at Marbach—by which it is approachable from the direction of the enemy's advance. The latter came on, however, equipped with pontoon trains, and prepared to cross at a number of points. The pontoniers worked under a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, but finally planted their bridges, and over a hundred thousand Russians and Germans have already crossed.

“4 P.M.—The Allies have up to this time held their fortified position in the bend of the Neckar in spite of the most persistent and bloody attempts of the enemy to dislodge them. At noon thirty thousand Russian infantry made a desperate charge up the heights at Benningen, but were handsomely repulsed by Gibbon's (Third) corps, who afterward made a sortie and drove them back down the heights and into the river. A second charge was attempted at the same point at one o'clock, this time by fifty thousand Germans and Russians under General Von Römer. The French division of Brasseur had been ordered up to re-enforce Gibbon, and again the charge was repulsed, but with enormous losses. The enemy, not discouraged, rallied another fifty thousand men, and, an hour later, once more charged desperately up the hill. Gib-

bon's and Brasseur's men had meanwhile been further reinforced by Major-General Dawson's left wing of Fitzhugh Lee's (Second) corps from the Army of the Vosges ; and none too soon, either, for the Virginians, Carolinians, and Georgians, who had come up on a double-quick to the front, had scarcely recovered their breath ere they were called upon to go into action. The Imperialists advanced steadily up the hill in three solid lines, and this time the flower of their troops had been sent to the assault. But they were doomed. On they came, the grape and canister cutting long gaps in their ranks, yet the survivors pressing onward and upward with dogged, undaunted determination. Again the Allies rushed out of the works to meet them with the bayonet, the Fifth New York of Barnum's division leading the charge. It was short, sharp, and decisive. Some of the Germans, it is true, pushed on over everything and reached even the mouths of the Boston battery's guns ; but not one of them ever went back.

"The American losses have been heavy in to-day's action, the New York and New England troops having borne the brunt of the assaults at Benningen. But the slaughter of the enemy must have been tenfold greater, the slope where they charged being literally covered with their dead and wounded.

"6 P.M.—There has been bloody fighting at the bridge at Marbach and at two or three other points beyond, where the enemy had placed their pontoons ; but in every case the Allies have held their positions and inflicted severe loss upon their assailants. At latest advices (5.30 P.M.) it is not considered probable that the enemy will renew the attack to-day at that point. Heavy shells have been falling all day far within the Allied lines. The railway viaduct and most of the buildings at Bietigheim are in ruins. There has also been heavy fighting at various other points. The Allies took the aggressive against the enemy's right at noon, and threw forward three French and one Spanish corps toward Brackenheim and Kirchheim, both of which they occupied with comparatively little resistance. The rear-guard of the Army of the Vosges was vigorously attacked by a cavalry force composed of five thousand Uhlans, who succeeded in capturing a large number of wounded and stragglers.

"7 P.M.—Everything indicates that the fighting is over for to-

day. The Imperialists have been held in check on the right, and thus far have failed in their plans ; but the situation is still menacing, and there must be much desperate fighting in any case before the issue is decided. A further concentration of their forces is in progress. The enemy, apparently in view of to-day's events, has made no attack on Carlsruhe ; but the entire Imperialist reserve, which had been destined for that purpose, is reported in motion toward Heidelberg and Heilbron. Cirrey's troops from Verviers have all arrived, and with the exception of those detailed to guard the line of communication from the Rhine to the Neckar, have gone forward to the front. The great bulk of both armies now confront each other at and around Bietigheim, the Allied line extending from Gross Sachsenheim to the Neckar near Marbach.

" *March 2d, morning.*—The Allied arms have encountered a serious and what might have proved, but for American valor, a fatal disaster. Under cover of night the Imperialists brought two hundred thousand infantry, under General von Ehrenstein, around to the vicinity of Ludwigsburg, crossing the Neckar at Hochberg and Neckar Ems, and at daylight hurled this force, from the southward, upon the Allied flank. The attack came so unexpectedly that a panic ensued. General du Sellier's division, which caught the first brunt of the onslaught, broke and ran, spreading the panic among the Spanish troops of General Quintero's division, who also joined in the flight. The sudden firing from an unexpected quarter brought the entire army to attention ; but the Germans and Austrians came on with a rush, carrying camp after camp and earthwork after earthwork, until it seemed certain that the thought of further staying their advance was vain. Their first check, however, was when they encountered the French divisions of Valcourt and Meurier. These are troops who have seen much active service in Algiers and Tonquin, and are not likely to turn and run when surprised. They gallantly received the enemy's onset, and engaged him so long as resistance was possible, but at cost of leaving two thirds of their number on the field. Yet this gave General Terry, whose two corps were the next to be attacked, an opportunity to prepare for fight. The Imperialists, elated with success and now over-confident of victory, came rushing on at a double-quick upon Terry's

position, when suddenly, like a stone wall across their path, arose a line of blue coats, and then another, and another ; yet on they came, still eighty or ninety thousand strong, while Terry's force at most was not over half that number. He had, however, speedily telephoned to Gibbon and Miles, who were near at hand, urging them to hasten to his support ; and hasten they did.

“ ‘*Stand firm, now, every man of you,*’ shouted the gallant Fairchild as the enemy came down upon him ; ‘*we Americans can save the day yet.*’ Then came the crash. It was a hand-to-hand bayonet fight ; but the Americans stood firm, and Von Ehrenstein saw then, for the first time, that his victorious advance was ended. While the troops of Fairchild and Lee were holding him in check, Gibbon and Miles came dashing in on his flank, and Audibert's (French) corps, which had been ordered too late to the support of Valcourt and Meurier, closed in upon him from the rear. He was hemmed in on all sides, and his men were falling so fast that further resistance seemed but useless carnage. He determined to cut his way out, if possible. Moving his men suddenly by the right flank, he encountered the troops of Miles ; it was vain. Fairchild closed in, with Audibert upon his rear, and forced him to about-face again and defend himself. Only a forlorn hope of two brigades, with Von Ehrenstein at their head, succeeded in reaching and fording the Neckar and making good their escape, taking with them several hundred prisoners from Terry's command. Of the hundred thousand assailants, sixty thousand are now prisoners in General Terry's hands. The remainder, with the exception of the two brigades that escaped with Von Ehrenstein, are lying dead or wounded on the field.

“ 11 A.M.—The enemy have evacuated Marbach, after destroying the bridge and setting fire to the town. Schiller's birth-place is in ashes. They are now massing the remainder of their forces at Pleidelsheim and Steinheim. The balloon signal-men report heavy re-enforcements pouring in by way of Heilbron and Lauffen ; these are no doubt the forces that were to have attacked Carlsruhe. Including these, the enemy can still muster over four hundred thousand men against us. The Allies, counting all of Cirrey's newly-arrived soldiers, number over five hundred and fifty thousand ready for action, but both

men and horses are beginning to show the results of the last three days' terrible strain upon them.

“2 P.M.—The enemy, adopting the Allied tactics, endeavored to entrench himself in a similar bend in the Neckar at Hessigheim, but was frustrated and driven back with considerable loss. Emboldened by his strong re-enforcements, he has actively resumed the offensive, crossing the Neckar in great force at Wahlheim, Ottmarsheim, and Besigheim, with the evident intention of silencing the batteries and overwhelming the Allied left.

“5 P.M.—An infantry battle, in which not less than two hundred and fifty thousand troops were brought into action on each side, has been in progress since early this afternoon, in the open country to the north-west of Bietigheim. The manœuvring of these heavy bodies of men is described by the *Herald* balloon correspondent as evincing the most consummate military strategy on both sides. Our artillery firmly holds its position on several knobs or hills which command the entire battle-field, and has been doing deadly execution, notwithstanding repeated and persistent attempts to dislodge it. Nothing decisive as yet.

“8 P.M.—The troops of both armies are resting on their arms wherever darkness overtook them. The results of this afternoon's bloody fighting are entirely indecisive and unsatisfactory. Cheering news comes, however, that the Allied right, a hundred and fifty thousand strong, and including the entire American contingent, has been pressing the retiring enemy northward from Marbach since noon, and will be in position to close in upon him to-morrow. The best military authority is credited with the statement that this terrible contest cannot possibly be protracted longer than to-morrow at sundown. The sacrifice of life has been unparalleled in the annals of warfare, and the country is covered with the dead, and with the wounded and dying, for whom it is impossible to care.

“*March 3d*, 9 A.M.—The agonies of the wounded, who are still lying helpless and neglected all over the wide extent of country over which the contending armies have fought, are spoken of as indescribable, yet neither commander has proposed a truce in order to afford them relief. On the contrary, the slaughter was renewed this morning with increased vigor by the fresh

troops on both sides, on the battle-ground of yesterday afternoon. Our correspondent reports that the Allied right, which forced the enemy northward from Marbach yesterday, crossed the Neckar in the night, and by a forced march is closing in upon the main body of the Imperial forces now opposite our left. If this prove true, it will undoubtedly give the Allies the victory.

“ 11 A.M.—An hour ago the Imperialists made a desperate but unsuccessful attempt to dislodge our artillery from their positions near the Weisenhof and the Spinnerei, from both of which points the fire has been especially destructive. Since then there has been a perceptible diminution in the vigor of their fighting at all points. The Allies are advancing and pushing them hard at every point.

“ Noon.—The *Herald* balloon correspondent reports that the shattered and weakened Imperial forces were struck on the flank at Lochgau half an hour ago by the right wing of General Boulanger's army, which had crossed the Neckar at night, and came up by a forced march. A panic ensued, and the enemy is now in full retreat upon Heilbron, leaving most of his artillery and many thousands of prisoners in our hands. His escape is considered impossible.

“ 2 P.M.—A force of ten thousand Allied cavalry, mostly French dragoons, which had been in reserve at Bretten, moved rapidly down the post-road to Brackenheim and intercepted the enemy's flight at Dürrenzimmer and Nordhausen. A lively engagement between cuirassiers and Uhlans is also reported to have occurred at the bridge at Lauffen. The enemy continues in full flight.

“ 9 P.M.—THE ENEMY HAS SURRENDERED UNCONDITIONALLY.”

I leave it to your imagination, my hearers, to picture the agony and suspense prevailing throughout the country during these four days of a battle where every household in the land was represented by some loved relative, friend, or acquaintance. So terrible were the losses, so protracted the uncertainty, that, notwithstanding the thrilling news of victory,

the battle was regarded as a great national calamity. The cables—there were but six then—were choked with messages, the newspapers filled with lists of the dead, wounded, and missing, and the entire land was wrapped in grief and mourning which even the consciousness of victory so dearly purchased could not assuage. The President decreed March 12th as a day of national fasting, humiliation, and prayer, and its observance was both earnest and general throughout the nation. Throughout Europe, too, a deep, crushing sense of horror was uppermost in the public mind, contemplating that ghastly field where over two hundred thousand dead bodies were being buried as rapidly as possible, and where for miles around, in every available building that was left standing, as many more wounded sufferers were awaiting recovery or death.

The victory of the Allies was complete. Articles of surrender were drawn up at Heilbron on the following day, and two days later Coblenz capitulated, through the disaffection of the Russian troops forming a part of its garrison. Indications of serious discord were apparent in the Imperial ranks, Russians, Austrians, and Germans each striving to throw upon the other the responsibility of defeat. The Allied armies, meanwhile, withdrew to the Rhine plain, and there awaited the conclusion of a peace, which could not be long deferred. Early in May the Treaty of Carlsruhe was signed. Its terms were humiliating to the Imperial signatories, but it must be remembered they had been written by the sword.



in letters of blood. Germany re-ceded to France Alsace and Lorraine, with a war indemnity of one milliard of francs (\$200,000,000) to that country, \$100,000,000 to the United States, and \$50,000,000 to Spain. Russia evacuated Herat and Constantinople, and gave England an indemnity of £25,000,000 and ample guarantees against re-occupation. Austria paid Italy five hundred million lira (\$100,000,000) as indemnification, and accorded her certain special shipping privileges in the port of Trieste. The signing of this treaty was the occasion for many remarkable speeches deploring the horrors of war and advocating measures for a general disarmament and the perpetuation of permanent peace among the nations. Who can recall, save with a sense of admiration and conviction, the eloquent peroration of our venerable statesman, Mr. Evarts, when, on that occasion, in the presence of the titled diplomats of Europe, he spoke these memorable words :

“ In conclusion, Mr. President, I here renew, in the name of Christianity, in the name of humanity, that appeal for peace which the United States of America sent from beyond the Atlantic a twelvemonth ago to the nations of the Old World then girding themselves for battle. At that time the entreaty fell upon unheeding ears ; the still small voice of the angel pleading for peace was drowned in the hoarse, discordant tones of the unchained demon of strife. But now that the storm has swept over us ; now that the peoples of Europe and America are bowed in grief in the presence of a common, all-pervading woe ; now that in every household, be it palace or cabin, the voice of weeping and wailing is heard for those who have fallen on yonder field—in this the hush following the tempest, is it not the chosen moment in which the New World may once

more stretch out her hands unto the Old, and pointing to yon ghastly spectacle, exclaim, in the name of the thousands of widows and orphans who to-day are weeping, in the name of common humanity, in the name of God, ‘Let us have peace’?”

The conclusion of the treaty was made the occasion of signal rejoicings everywhere, even in the defeated countries, for the impression was general that an era of universal and enduring peace had finally been crystallized out of the white-hot furnace of war. Yet even these rejoicings were tempered by the prevalence of personal sorrow and bereavement. Never before had grim War left such widespread blight, poverty, and desolation in his path. The treasure and blood which had been poured out like water had left a lack which only the flight of long years could efface.

But you are perhaps curious to learn what, during all these momentous events, has become of our young Kansas officer and his note-book. Where a million or more of men are brought into action, the individual is certain to dwindle in importance, and the personal adventures of this one or that one in the human ant-hill become matters of insignificance. Yet since you have listened previously to some of his recitals, it may interest you to know this much, that he got a ball in the shoulder and was carried off a prisoner to Ludwigsburg with the two brigades that cut their way out with Von Ehrenstein; that he was humanely cared for in a German military hospital at that place until his wound healed, and that he rejoined his command at Durlach a few days

before the conclusion of the treaty of peace. The next important entry which his note-book records is the following :

“ *Paris, June 16th, 1891.*—This has been the proudest day of my life. The American troops have been fairly overwhelmed with attentions and honors at every point on the long line of march. The review was simply magnificent as a military pageant. General Terry was given the right of the line, with Fairchild’s corps leading and Lee’s next ; then came Gibbon and Miles, then the English, Italians, and Spaniards, the French troops bringing up the rear. The route, extending from the Bois de Bologne, by way of the Arc de Triomphe, Champs Elysées, Place de la Concorde, Rue Royale, and Grand Boulevard to the Place Juillet, was lined on both sides for the entire distance with the troops of the Army of Paris and the National Guard, facing inward, and standing at ‘Present Arms.’ I find no words in which to convey any idea of the enthusiastic demonstrations of the French populace at the sight of our war-worn blue uniforms and torn, battle-stained flags. Our brigade was the second from the right of the line, and came in for a large share of the popular acclamation. As we passed under the Arc de Triomphe, our band playing ‘Yankee Doodle,’ the scene was simply indescribable, but is indelibly imprinted upon my memory ; and I shall be proud to the last day of my life that I participated in its honors. On the Place de la Concorde, the statue of Strasbourg was decorated with garlands, and above it floated a silk banner inscribed, “Welcome to our Liberators.” Across the Boulevard, at the Place de l’Opera, was an arch of roses, inclosing the simple word “Bietigheim” in evergreens. From the summit of the Portes St. Denis and St. Martin floated the flags of all the Allied nations, decked with laurel leaves, and on the top of the Column of July was a colossal white-winged figure, typifying the Angel of Peace.

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The remainder of the story is soon told. History records no more grateful or enthusiastic welcome

than that accorded to the brave American survivors of Bietigheim, when they once more set foot on their country's soil. The flags which they followed through the dire storm of battle and brought back crowned with victory are now enshrined at their respective State Capitols as the proudest trophies of American prowess and the vindication of the proudest rights of American citizenship.

Thirty-three years after the events just described, my hearers, he who now addresses you revisited the battle-field of Bietigheim, and stood once more upon the heights overlooking the Neckar at Benningen, where the Americans had fought so bravely and so well. The soft purple haze of a summer evening sunset hovered over the quiet, peaceful landscape, and nothing remained to tell of the mad passions that had once surged and ebbed over that now tranquil scene save the long lines of moss-covered gravestones within the inclosure, which, under treaty provisions, was made over by Germany to our Government for maintenance as a National Cemetery.

Honest toil had resumed its wonted sway, the ruined villages had been rebuilt, the grain fields, once trampled under the iron footprints of charging infantry, now rustled with waving wheat, and the Neckar, winding like a silver band across the misty landscape, gave no remembrance that it had once run red with the life-blood of the youth of two continents. All save the tombstones had passed away ; but they, in silent, solemn alignment, were still

standing there, making their mute appeal and seeming to ask, "Have these brave men indeed died in vain?" And the answer comes long and loud from a grateful country far away across the sea, and from all friends of liberty throughout the world: "No! these men gave up their lives to humble the arrogance of Imperial military despotism and vindicate to the world the principles of republican popular government. No! they have not died in vain."

### III.

#### ITS CONSEQUENCES.

BIETIGHEIM not only made the world weep, it set the European people to thinking, and, later, to acting. It admonished the monarch on his throne that a time had already come when the right to the rulership of an intelligent people must be based on something more than mere heredity ; to the aristocracy it whispered a warning that the day of any other ranks or titles than those based on individual merit was drawing to an end ; it reminded the middle classes that in them, the possessors of the wealth and intelligence of the land, was in reality vested the controlling influence for its welfare ; and to the masses—the artisan, the laborer, the peasant—it unveiled all the hollowness and falsity of the tinsel idols of tradition to which they had been asked to bow down.

It was evident early in 1893 that a general social revolution was impending in Europe. That it might prove a bloodless one many yet believed. The carnage at Bietigheim had borne good fruit in allaying the sanguinary feelings of even the more advanced radicals and socialists, and in disposing people of all political creeds and opinions to a settlement of their differences by arbitration and

legislation wherever it could possibly be effected. Since the re-entry of the defeated troops at Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Vienna, liberalism had made incredible strides, not only in those capitals, but throughout the countries which they ruled. When the German Reichstag assembled in November, 1892, two thirds of its members were more or less republican in sentiment. The Austrian Parliament was even more radical, in that its Republican members, while not more numerous than in the Reichstag, possessed less statecraft and self-control. In Russia Nihilism had been replaced by what was called the “People’s Union,” with “Education and Freedom” as its motto. This Bund, or Union, comprised nearly every man in the empire save the court, the nobility, the higher military officials, and a small sprinkling of the wealthy *bourgeoisie*, who sought, by holding aloof, to curry favor with the throne. The rank and file of the army were in sympathy with it almost to a man. The Bund, in short, had, by a silent, bloodless revolution, become the master and dictator of public political feeling in Russia.

Thus inevitably the three emperors found themselves isolated upon their respective thrones, surrounded only by a meagre and weak-kneed following of impotent courtiers or paid officials, while their opponents were strong, united, and alert. Inevitably, I said, for it was impossible in an age where the printing-press and the telegraph were daily distributing knowledge and information broadcast, that any such antiquated nonsense as the inherent hereditary right of one man or one family to

govern an entire nation should long be tolerated. None knew this better than the monarchs themselves. The time when the three emperors could hobnob at Gastein or Ischl and arrange the affairs of nearly two hundred millions of subjects over a dinner-table was past. They had now to look those bereaved and impoverished subjects in the face, and give an account of their stewardship ; and the first question that they had to answer was this : “ What guarantees can you give us against another Bietigheim ? ”

Then European republicanism took concerted action. The social revolution, which but for Bietigheim would have been one of fire and blood, became a peaceful one, enacted with dignity and order, and under all due forms of law. It was not the work of a single day. It had been in preparation for years, gaining strength with the election of each new Republican member from districts previously represented by monarchists, and daily laying its foundations broader and deeper among the people, so that, when the change of government really came, it was only the cap-stone to a structure of which the corner-stone had long since been laid.

I speak now more especially of the downfall of the three great empires, as that was the first phase of the world's political reformation—a downfall somewhat accelerated, it may be, by the fact that since the Treaty of Carlsruhe the three courts, while maintaining an outward semblance of their former friendship, were in reality full of bitterness against each other, as partners in defeat are generally apt



to be. Deprived thus of each other's moral sympathy, support, and countenance, they resisted with so much the less confidence the inroads of those domestic foes who were rapidly undermining the foundations of their thrones. Germany, too, had lost her tower of strength, Bismarck, whose pride and iron will had not long survived the humiliation of defeat, and in whose death imperialism lost its stanchest and most able defender. In short, European republicanism, which had barely escaped a throttling in its birth, now waxed strong and healthy in its youthful manhood, not only capable of defending itself, but of doing more, of taking the aggressive and lifting up its voice and right arm to demand free government.

It is to the everlasting credit of the leaders of this movement in Germany and Austria that, seeing their strength and knowing the longed-for goal to be at hand, they went one step farther to listen to the voice of humanity, and to make the blow they were about to strike a bloodless one. It would have been a very easy matter for them to precipitate a conflict in which many lives would have been lost and much property destroyed without materially endangering the ultimate success of their plans ; but they preferred to do otherwise ; they won over the army, and so thoroughly matured their plans that when on a given day—the 12th of February, 1893—Herr Schöller, in the Berlin Reichstag, and Herr Endry, in the Vienna Parliament, ascended the Tribune and moved to proclaim the republic, the bubble of imperial power collapsed. The gov-

ernments found themselves in a helpless and hopeless minority, utterly unable to stay the popular tide. Resistance, even had it been possible, would have been vain. From all quarters of Germany and Austria telegrams came pouring in from prominent leaders, giving in their adhesion to the new *régime*. The moody King of Bavaria shut himself in one of his mountain castles and awaited events ; his royal neighbor of Würtemberg passively submitted to the situation, and simply offered a protest ; the King of Saxony endeavored to secure the removal and concealment of the valuable crown-jewels at Dresden, but the attempt was discovered and His Majesty placed under guard in his own palace ; the Grand Duke of Baden, related by ties of blood to the imperial family, first entered a solemn and vigorous protest against the change, and then withdrew with his family and suite to one of his hunting castles at Salem, near the Lake of Constance ; the large commercial cities, Bremen, Hamburg, and Frankfort, always more or less republican in sentiment, welcomed the news joyfully, and promised the new Government active support. In Austria some disorders, resulting in bloodshed, ensued, but they were of short duration. Hungary rejoiced throughout the length and breadth of her borders at the change which freed her from Austrian subjugation, and Budapest was brilliantly illuminated in honor of the new republic.

I outline thus briefly these important events, leaving it to your intelligent imagination to fill in the

innumerable details of the picture—the uprootings of old traditions, the conflicts of pride and patriotism, the sighs and tears over departed ranks and titles, the high hopes or gloomy forebodings for the future to which this new order of things gave birth in the hearts of the good people of that day. I leave you, too, to imagine the effect which the news produced upon the rest of the world—that is, the countries not immediately interested. Russia had scarcely time to realize what had happened ere her turn came too. The atmosphere of republicanism and the light of a new political dawn permeated every chink and cranny of the mouldy structure of Russian autocracy. The pressure of public opinion, both from within and without, became such that it could no longer be withstood, and on the 13th of March, 1893, the twelfth anniversary of his ascent to the throne, Alexander III. publicly abdicated his sovereignty. The heir apparent, his son, Nicholas, a youth of twenty-five, reluctant to relinquish his claims to the imperial succession, gathered together a small following of nobility and military officers, still faithful to ancient tradition, and offered a strenuous but brief and ineffectual resistance to the transfer of the government to the representatives of the people. The petty monarchs of Roumania and the Balkan provinces found their palaces besieged by eager throngs demanding their abdication. Ferdinand of Roumania refused, and was promptly deposed; Alexander of Bulgaria submitted to the will of his people, and was subsequently chosen their president. Milan of Servia

fled his kingdom and took refuge in the south of France, where he died in 1899. King Konstantinos, who had only been one year upon the throne of Greece, sensibly recognized the turn which European political affairs were taking, and issued a *plebiscite*, under which his people were to decide what form of government they preferred. The result was a foregone conclusion ; in July the king abdicated, and Greece was once more a republic.

The one great and principal danger in this rapid transfer of all Eastern Europe to Republicanism was evident at a glance : it was the danger of extreme measures, begotten of over-confidence and of utter inexperience in the art of self-government. Ardent and unselfish as were the Republican leaders of Europe, it must not be forgotten that they were but mortal, and that they found themselves not only carried along upon the very crest of a great wave of success and popularity—itself a dangerous test for any man or set of men—but that they had to deal with constituencies reared under despotism, accustomed to look upon their rulers as the school-boy looks upon the rod, bigoted in their hatred, bitter in their vindictiveness, and all ignorant of the inward significance of “a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.” To most of these the Republic was a chimera. It was a fair angel for whose coming they had yearned and prayed and waited ; yet when it came and met them and stretched forth its hands to them, they did not recognize the object of their hopes and yearnings. It may, I think, truly be said—it has, in fact, been

said by one historian of this twentieth century—that, at the close of 1893, there were not in all the newly declared republics of Europe over a score of recognized political leaders who could have sat in the Senate of the United States and been regarded as capable men, imbued with sound, practical, and reasonable republican plans and opinions.

This was not surprising ; on the contrary, it would have been surprising had it been otherwise. The enemies of free thought and free government saw all this with a furtive smile of delight, and watched and waited for their turn to come again. But it never came, and, as we may now, after the lapse of nearly half a century, reasonably suppose, it never will come. Had the dawn of European republicanism been a synonym for bloodshed and rapine ; had dynamite taken the place of logic, and had legislation been replaced by the sword and torch, it is safe to suppose that, at no distant day, possibly even ere this, people would have gone willingly back to the old *régime* of throne and crown, exclaiming, “ Of two great evils, give us the lesser.” But, fortunately, it was otherwise. Moderation prevailed ; that is to say, comparative moderation, in that no guillotines were set up, no cities burned, no mobs set in motion, and republicanism grew and took new root daily. The considerate personal treatment extended to the dispossessed monarchs and their families furnishes, perhaps, the best indication of the moderate and liberal spirit of the time. In Germany and Austria the deposed emperors were offered the alternative of taking the oath of allegiance to the

republic and becoming plain citizens like the rest, or of leaving the country. Both preferred the latter. The German emperor and his family removed to London, where ties of kindred assured them a welcome. Francis Joseph of Austria passed his few remaining years at Paris or in the South of France. Strange to say, the Czar gave in his allegiance to the new *régime*, professing a love for his country which was superior to all ambition or self-interest. But he retired to a small property which he owned in the Crimea, and, though discharging faithfully thereafter all his duties as a citizen, never set foot in St. Petersburg or Moscow again. The minor princes, whose name, especially in Germany, was legion, refused, almost without exception, to recognize the new order of things, and went into voluntary exile, some to Paris, some to Great Britain, and a few to this country, where they or their descendants have in most cases become useful and respected citizens. When I remind you that an Oldenburg is now Lieutenant-Governor of Minnesota; that a Weimar represents a Wisconsin district in Congress; that a Schaumburg-Lippe is Collector of Customs at Louisville, and that a Hapsburg lately declined the nomination for Governor of California, you will realize how these offshoots of European royalty have, within half a century, been absorbed into our population and become part and parcel of ourselves.

I need not weary you with reciting in detail the measures taken for the establishment of the new

republics ; suffice it to say that peace and order prevailed, that Constitutional conventions assembled, that general elections were held, and that, early in 1894, only three years after the echo of Bietigheim's cannon had died away, the provisional German, Russian, and Austrian republics had all been recognized by the Washington Government and by the other great powers, some of whom, however, England and Italy more especially, looked askance upon the new state of affairs. But of this I shall speak later. In the United States, notwithstanding the universal satisfaction felt with the changed political complexion of the Old World, a diversity of opinion existed as to the outlook. Many contended that republics, constructed upon the ruins of ancient monarchies, were built upon an insecure foundation and could not prove permanent ; others refuted this theory by pointing to the French republic, which, for a quarter of a century, had weathered all sorts of political hurricanes. Many and sincere were the appeals put forth by the press, by organized societies, and by individuals to the Republicans of Europe, entreating them to move slowly and to legislate with prudence and moderation. These had their effect, too, for the land of Washington and Franklin and Adams and Jefferson, from being an object of dread and mistrust to European tyrants, had now come to be looked upon as the model after which all republics should be patterned.

All things considered, it is surprising how quietly and quickly the transition was effected, and how, as a matter of fact, the people settled down into the

new order of affairs. Business continued in its accustomed channels, agriculture and industrial pursuits thrived or lagged as usual, people were born, and married, and died just the same as ever—in short, when the republican spectre had once become a tangible creature, people quickly accepted the fact, and the world wagged on as before.

About this time there appeared on the political and social horizon a man destined to exert a powerful influence upon the age in which he lived, and to take rank as one of the most singular characters in the world's history. I refer to Emanuel Winterhoff.

Born of peasant parents near Cassel, Germany, in 1850, receiving only such education as was obtainable at a public school or by studying in borrowed books at such odd moments as he could spare from his trade as a saddler's apprentice, he first emerged from obscurity in 1887 by the publication at Leipzig of a pamphlet entitled “*Der Arbeiter, und Sein Lohn*” (“The Workingman and His Pay”), attacking Bismarck's law for the insurance of workingmen, for which he suffered six months' imprisonment. We next find him defeated twice in succession (1888 and 1889) as Socialist candidate for the Reichstag, and in 1891, upon the re-entry of the defeated troops at Berlin, loudly denouncing the imperial Government in the streets of Frankfurt, for which he was again imprisoned, only obtaining his release two years later, when the republic was declared.





EMANUEL WINTERHOFF.



Up to this time Winterhoff had been regarded as merely an agitator. But with the dawn of the new era he appeared in the Reichstag, and soon won recognition by the depth and broadness of his views and his wonderful force and eloquence in their advocacy. Unpretentious and unselfish in all that pertained to his personal interests, imbued with a sincere spirit of philanthropy, a deep sense of conviction which showed itself in every word and act, and a rare toleration for the opinions of his opponents, this remarkable man speedily won the enthusiastic regard and confidence of all lovers of liberty, and the silent respect of its foes. Earlier in life he had ardently devoted himself to the study of Free Masonry, and throughout his entire career he maintained the practice of its principles to be the truest and best religion for mankind. Nay, he even went further, and advocated the application of its system of organization and government to the State. "A Universal Republic," he declared, "organized and administered upon the basis of a Masonic Lodge, will realize the highest measure of prosperity for the human race, and prove as enduring as mankind itself."

Among the innumerable theories of government, some few of them practicable, but most of them quite the reverse, which were put forward during the transition period intervening between the formal declaration of the republics and the time when they finally achieved stability, none took a wider and deeper hold upon the masses than this one of Winterhoff's. Briefly stated, his plan was that of a

political structure based upon trade guilds, membership in one or another of which was to be binding upon every male citizen. These guilds were composed of three grades of members, the highest of which elected from among its own members a Master to serve for one year. Masters of Guilds in turn were organized into Grand Guilds of two hundred each, and elected their Grand Masters to serve for two years. The Grand Masters in turn met in Councils of one hundred each, and elected their Chief Councillors to serve for three years. These Chief Councillors in turn met in Conclaves of twenty-five each and chose their electors to serve for four years, forming an Electoral College, which chose, from its own members, a President and Vice-President to serve for five years, both being eligible to re-election.

I make no comments upon this proposed system ; I simply recount its leading features. Its government was to be absolutely paternal in its nature. The State was to operate the railroads, steamships, telegraphs, telephones, ferries, factories — everything. Barter and commerce were to disappear as private sources of emolument, and labor was to be the sole standard of value. All the produce of the land, all the wares produced by the guilds, were to be turned in to the Government warehouses and credited to the guilds producing them, which, in turn, were authorized to draw out their equivalent in other produce and other wares to balance their account, the standard of value being the product of an average workman in one day of eight hours' labor.

There were to be no rich, no poor. Each guild was to provide for its helpless, sick, or infirm members, and also to furnish its *pro rata* share for the maintenance of the general Government, and of the employés engaged in the receipt, preservation, handling, and distribution of the public property. For the punishment of all minor crimes and misdemeanors, Masters of Guilds were invested with the necessary authority over their own members, who had the right of appeal to the Grand Masters. Cases of murder, rape, arson, etc., were to be tried by the Grand Masters in Council, with the right of appeal to the Chief Councillors. There was no restriction placed upon religious faith or worship, but pastors were to be supported by the contributions of those to whom they ministered. The guilds were to provide medical attendance and legal counsel to their members when necessary. All houses, land and real estate of every kind were to belong to the State, which was to collect the rents and credit them to the public treasury.

These are the main outlines of Winterhoff's plan, and he advocated it with all the earnestness of conviction and all the fervor of his eloquence, not only in the German Congress, but throughout all Eastern Europe, journeying from place to place, through Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Russia, and preaching the doctrine of his Universal Brotherhood to immense and enthusiastic assemblages.

In January, 1898, he was at Pesth and Pressburg; in March, at Vienna; later in the same year he addressed an audience of fifty thousand Poles

at Warsaw, and in October he was preaching his doctrines at St. Petersburg, everywhere attracting vast crowds. In the summer of 1899 he appeared once more at Berlin, gentle, modest, and unostentatious as was his wont, yet with, if possible, a deeper earnestness and determination than ever before. Meanwhile the seeds which he had sown broadcast had taken deep root, and the clamor for the Universal Republic, or, as some termed it, the Brotherhood of Man, had become so widespread that many already looked upon its establishment as merely a question of time.

Meanwhile the rest of Europe could not remain insensible, even if it would, to the presence of this glowing furnace of republicanism in its midst. France, as may be supposed, had suddenly become extremely conservative, and assuming the *rôle* of an older brother, solemnly warned the new beginners against the danger of going forward too rapidly. Belgium, always more or less socialistic, had thrown off the royal yoke in 1895. The stern and unimpressible Dutch did not take kindly to republicanism, neither did the Scandinavian peoples; they preferred, all of them, to maintain their monarchical governments, and, with the exception of some slight outbreaks, managed to do so in peace. In Spain sad disorders prevailed. The Biscay provinces declared their independence in 1893, and had ever since been maintaining their own Government, entirely independent of Madrid. Barcelona had also declared itself a free city, and the Spanish Government was powerless to do more

than protest. The movement had spread until province became at war with province, and city with city, and by the opening of the present century all Spain was in ebullition and disorder, with no immediate prospect of a restoration of tranquillity. Glancing at Italy, we find her political condition at that period anomalous. The northern provinces were in a state of revolt against King Humbert's rule, and Milan, Florence, Venice, and other of the larger cities were heavily garrisoned by royal troops, the people passively submitting to the occupation rather than resort to uprising and bloodshed. In the central and southern provinces republicanism had made, as yet, so little headway among the masses that the king easily maintained his sway. But the situation was critical, only existing by sufferance, and none knew at what moment some chance popular tumult might not apply the spark to the powder and inaugurate a new political era in the land of the Cæsars. In the Vatican, if the popular opinion of that day may be credited, there was a disposition to move with, or at least not to stem, the political tendencies of the time. To recognize and to accord a moral support to the existing authority appears to have been then, as always, the secular policy of the Roman Church. What though Atheism and Infidelity stalked abroad throughout all lands, fondly deluding themselves with the belief that this new era of emancipation from political fetters would also absolve mankind from a sense of its bounden duty to its Creator, and usher in what one of their great writers has termed the "Age of Reason"? What

though fanatics were indeed found to preach against the family tie, against the worship of the Deity, against all that we are taught from childhood to regard with veneration and respect? What though propositions were made in all the republican countries of Europe to demolish the cathedrals and churches, sell their treasures at public auction, and devote the proceeds to the general fund? Notwithstanding all this, the Church of Rome maintained its influence over the masses, aided, whenever occasion offered, in the administration of public charities, showed its consistency with the prevailing spirit of the time by greatly simplifying the interior ornamentation of its churches and its forms of public worship, and, in many instances, through the personal interposition of its priests, prevented or suppressed local excesses and disturbances. Through all this period its voice, never faltering, rang out clear and loud like a beacon-bell over the troubled political sea, ever exhorting to law and order, ever denouncing the infidel, ever pointing to the Cross on Calvary. Even those of us, my hearers, who are of another creed and communion, must unite in acknowledging the debt which civilization and progress and humanity owe to the Church of Rome for her wise and fearless course during that perilous period.

Let us now briefly consider the part which Great Britain was called upon to enact in this great political drama. You have no doubt already remarked that in the struggle of 1890-91, terminating at



Bietigheim, she bore, whether on land or sea, a part which seems insignificant when compared with her previous pretensions as a military and naval power. But it should be remembered that she was hampered by the Irish question, and by her widespread colonial possessions, and was tied hand and foot by the ever-present necessity of being prepared to suppress uprisings in some remote corner of the world. This had been the bane of England's statesmanship. It had its full influence in diminishing her prestige among the nations of the world after Bietigheim, and it has ultimately cost her most of those possessions to retain which she had placed all else upon the altar of sacrifice. Still, at the time of which I speak, although England was less popular than ever in Europe, her internal condition gave much cause for satisfaction to her own rulers and people. Mr. Gladstone's solution of the troublesome Irish question was the crowning triumph of a brilliant career, and when, in 1892, Albert Edward, in his fifty-second year, finally ascended the throne, he found himself the ruler of a united people who, though inevitably more or less affected by the dominant tendencies of the time, and zealously demanding political reforms, were yet in the main loyal to the reigning House of Hanover, and satisfied that a monarchy, hedged in by proper checks and limits, would afford all needed popular freedom. Your true Briton, in order to respect himself, must in any emergency follow a course different from that of everybody else. In this instance it was, perhaps, just as well. John Bull never was and never can

be an avowed Republican. He may, under a nominal limited monarchy, have just as much popular liberty as we have, and just as free a government. Such was, in fact, the case at that time. The existence, by sufferance, of royalty and nobility were but a sop to the Cerberus of every loyal Briton's vanity, a thin disguise covering what was practically as good a republic as any that could be desired.

I ought to place one restriction upon the last assertion, and add that popular sentiment, while demanding that Albert Edward should remain king, also demanded the disestablishment of the English Church and the substitution of an elective body similar to our Senate for the House of Lords. The latter measure was tantamount to a suppression of the nobility, so far as its political recognition was concerned, but it was unmistakably the people's will, and it went into effect. A body known as the Royal Council, and composed of members chosen by the counties, cities, and boroughs, on a basis of their representation in the House of Commons, assembled at Westminster in 1896, and, as an evidence of the existing political harmony, it may be mentioned that nearly one half of those elected had been members of the old House of Lords. The steadiness and solidity of English institutions were never better illustrated than in the system and ease with which this radical constitutional change was carried into effect.

The Church question provoked deep feeling; but the days of the supremacy of the English Church, morally as well as numerically, had long

gone by. Rome had already two cardinals in England, and her "conversions" were numerous and constant; on the other hand, the Dissenters had grown numerous and bold. The Church of England could, under these circumstances, no longer solemnly appeal to the memory of Henry VIII., and demand recognition as the "Established" Church. The lapse of time and events had already practically disestablished it; but the fact became a legal one in 1897. Thenceforth State and Church were forever divorced; many a fat living vanished, and hundreds of sleek and well-fed gentlemen, good fellows, accustomed to idleness and ease under a curate's or vicar's robe, were confronted with the stern necessity of earning their daily bread. It was hard for them, it was hard for the good people whose love for their Church had been a part of their patriotism for Old England, to see the axe thus laid at the root of the tree which had been their shelter and their pride. But in the lexicon of the world's development there is no such word as pity. How many traditions, interwoven with the very heartstrings of mankind, in its various stages of existence, have been mercilessly crushed under the advancing car of progress! And yet to-day the grand old Church of England, surviving disestablishment, still lives in vindication of its sacred mission, and preaches the holy lesson of the Cross in all the four corners of the earth.

I have thus endeavored to recall to your minds a general picture of the political situation in Europe

thirty years ago—that is, at the close of the last century. Remember that none of these facts which I have presented to you are other than mere historical ones. But I have sought to present them together, and in such relation to each other as to show that they were and could not have been other than direct consequences of the Titanic struggle which I described to you in my previous lecture. It was the era of the world’s political reformation ; for statecraft it was an era of confusion, of chaos, if you will, but out of its doubts and uncertainties were to be crystallized an enduring peace and a strong and broad system of general popular government for mankind ; that political millennium prefigured by Tennyson :

“When the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags  
are furled

In the parliament of man, the federation of the world,

“There, the common sense of most shall hold a fitful realm  
in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law.”

The theories of Winterhoff, to which I have previously alluded, though crude and conceived in the brain of a man but little versed in statecraft, took, nevertheless, such a hold upon the popular mind, and proved so fascinating to the spirit of the time, eager as it was to grasp at anything as far the reverse as possible of the system of the past, that they soon took tangible shape and form. On the 1st of January, 1900, a procession consisting of eighty organized guilds, of a thousand men each, paraded the streets of Berlin, bearing banners inscribed “*Es Lebe die Allgemeine Brüderschaft,*” “*Winterhoff,*

*der Apostel der Freiheit*," "*Eine Welt, Ein Volk, Eine Regierung*," and many other mottoes of similar significance. Immense throngs witnessed the procession, and by enthusiastic cheering and applause testified to the popular sympathy. In the Schloss-Platz the procession organized into a vast meeting, over which Herr Möllendorph, at that time a prominent member of the provisional Government, presided. The speeches were not by any means fiery or fanatical. They were calm and argumentative in tone, breathing in every word a consciousness that might was on the side of the meeting, and that there was no minority with courage to lift up its voice. Telegrams from numerous guilds in Vienna, Prague, Petersburg, and Moscow were read, all glorifying Winterhoff, all urging their assembled German brethren to take the lead in inaugurating a Republic of the guilds, and all promising to follow if the movement were once begun. In the midst of the excitement following the reading of these dispatches, Winterhoff suddenly appeared at the famous Kaiser window of the palace, and stood calmly regarding the sea of upturned faces below. The populace had caught sight of him, his name was passed from lip to lip, and for full half an hour a tumult of unceasing cheers ensued, during which Winterhoff stood, with folded arms and motionless, looking calmly down upon his followers. There was a smile of sadness upon his face. Perhaps he saw farther into the future than did the eager thousands around him ; perhaps something whispered in his ear that popular homage is

fickle, that earthly triumphs are fleeting, and that at best “the path of glory leads but to the grave.” But whatever his musings, the sadness and the smile alike vanished when, lifting his right hand as a signal for silence, he told the assembled guilds in a few terse and forcible sentences that the time for planning had gone by and that the moment of action had arrived. Then the curtain rose and the world saw enacted a spectacle such as it never witnessed before or since. Not only throughout Germany, but through Austria, Hungary, and Russia as well, wherever Imperialism had been laid low, wherever Winterhoff in his wanderings had travelled, Guilds, Grand Guilds, Councils, Conclaves, and Electoral Colleges suddenly disclosed their existence as regularly organized and officered bodies, comprising among their leading members nearly all of those prominently identified with the provisional governments. All had been arranged with wondrous precision, forethought, and secrecy, even to the smallest details. The procession, the telegrams, the sudden appearance of Winterhoff at the palace window, were all parts of a carefully and ingeniously concocted play, having for its *dénouement* the solemn lifting of the leader’s right hand for the proclamation of the political Brotherhood of nearly two hundred millions of people.

It may with truth be said that no *coup d’état* ever took the world more completely by surprise. I can give you, perhaps, no better idea of the effect it produced than by reading a few extracts from various leading journals, both at home and abroad,

in regard to it. They were collected together shortly after their publication and reproduced in a pamphlet, a copy of which is to be found in the Library of Congress, at Washington.

From the Berlin *Tagblatt*, January 2d, 1900.

(Original.)

„Das politische Ereigniss, welches in das neue Jahrhundert einführte, mag für die Welt im Allgemeinen eine Ueberraschung gewesen sein ; aber für den Geschichtsschreiber fünfzig Jahre später wird es die Dämmerung eines längst vorgesehenen Tages sein ; eine Dämmerung folgend einer Mitternacht, deren schwarze Schatten zu verschwinden begannen als der Rauch von dem blutigen Schlachtfeld von Bietigheim aufstieg ; eine Dämmerung der Gnade und Wiedergeburt für die Menschheit ; eine Dämmerung, deren Tag so gehaltreich an Hoffnungen und Erwartungen ist, wie sein Morgen wolkenlos und fröhlich sein wird. Wir reichen in diesem Glauben die Hände unsern Brüdern der Zünfte, wo dieselben auch irgendwo auf der Erde zerstreut sind, und senden ihnen Grüsse und Glückwünsche. Es lebe die Allgemeine Republik ! *Esto perpetua*“

(Translation.)

“To the world in general of the present day the great political event which ushered in the new century may have been a surprise ; but to the historian of fifty years hence it will seem to have been the dawn of a day long foreseen ; a dawn following a midnight whose dark shadows began to vanish as the smoke lifted from the bloody field of Bietigheim ; a dawn of grace and regeneration for humanity ; a dawn whose day is as pregnant with hope and promise as its morrow shall be cloudless and joyous. In this belief we stretch out our hands to our brethren of the guilds, wheresoever dispersed about the earth, and send them greetings and congratulations. Long live the Universal Republic ! *Esto perpetua.*”

From the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse* (same date).

(*Original.*)

„Das Wort ist gesprochen. Die Allgemeine Republik ist proklamirt worden und Emanuel Winterhoff nimmt seinen Platz in der Geschichte nicht neben einem Caesar oder einem Napoleon, der durch das gemischte Blut von Feinden und Anhängern zur Macht gewattet ist, sondern als das Ebenbild eines Washington, uneigennützig seinem Volk ewige Freiheit zusichernd, und für das Menschengeschlecht das Muster einer volksthümlichen Regierung herstellend. Wohin unsere deutschen Brüder gehen, dahin werden die Zünfte von Oesterreich und Ungarn immer bereit sein zu folgen. Die Proklamation von Berlin von gestern hat eine schnelle und scharfe Antwort bei allen Bewohnern der Donau gefunden. Es lebe Winterhoff! Es lebe die Bruderschaft der Menschheit!“

(*Translation.*)

“The order has gone forth. The Universal Republic has been proclaimed, and Emanuel Winterhoff takes his place in history, not by the side of a Cæsar or Napoleon, who waded to power through the mingled blood of foes and followers, but as the companion of a Washington, securing, regardless of himself, eternal freedom for his people, and establishing a permanent model of popular government for mankind. Wherever our brethren of Germany lead, there will the guilds of Austria-Hungary ever be ready to follow. The Berlin proclamation of yesterday has found a prompt and eager reponse from all the dwellers along the Danube. Long live Winterhoff! Long live the Brotherhood of Mankind!”

From the St. Petersburg *Novosti* (same date, new style).

(*Original.*)

„W tietschenii poslednich 20<sup>ti</sup> let, nam Russkim na stolko tschasto prichodillos ispytat' tschewo mozno dostitsch

(*Translation.*)

“We Russians have too often had occasion within the last twenty years to know what organization can ac-



druzhnymi, tselesoobrazno organizowannymi sillami, tschto wtscheraschnia burnyia proizshestwia, niskolko nas nie porazili. S tiech por kak my —15 miesiatsew tomu nazad—sllyschali na Niewskom Winterhoffa, w odnoi iz iewo znamienitych rietschei, my lischilis wsiakawo somnienia w tom, tschto wwiedienie wsieobschtschei respubliki, ransche ili pozze dollzno byllo posledowat' nieizbiezno.

„Tschto sobytie eto sowierschillos imiennno wtscheraschniawo dnia, eto tolko odna iz mnogich slutchainostiei, w niepreriwnom riadu wsiemirno-istoritscheskich sobytii.

„Nasche diello tiepier' usowierschenstwowat' i sochranit' sieitschas priobretnonie.

„Poka, my raduiemsiatschto nakoniets dlia wsiech prosii-alla zaria dostoinawo ludiei suschtschestwowania. S wostorgom priwietstwuuiem tschudiesnoie sollntse wsieobschtschei swobody, zamieniwscheie na wsiehda-slichskom dollgo tiagotiaschtschuiu nad nami notschi rabstwa i despotizma!

„Imia-ze Winterhoffa budiet zapisano miedzdu samymi bleshtiaschtschimi wo weiemirnoi istorii, i pamiat' iewo-kak polititscheskawo spasiatiela

compish that we should allow ourselves to evince any surprise at the stirring events of yesterday. That the Universal Republic would come, sooner or later, we have never doubted since we heard Winterhoff make one of his famous harangues on the Nevsky fifteen months ago; that it came yesterday is but an incident in the onward march of events. It remains now for us to join hands and go forward. The dawn for which all lovers of liberty have prayed and watched and waited has broken at last, and the emancipated world emerges at length from the dark shadows of oppression and tyranny into the glorious sunlight of Universal Liberty. The name of Winterhoff will go down to posterity as that of the political savior of mankind."

tshellowietschestwa - ostani-  
etsia bllagosllowlena wo wie-  
ki.“

From the Rome *Eco d'Italia* (same date).

(Original.)

„Il secolo XX. s'annunzia con avvenimenti politici che scuotono il mondo intero. Da un giorno all' altro, senz' alcun segno precursore, noi vediamo passare il governo e con esso le sorti di mezza Europa nelle mani di un partito esaltato, che potrà esser ben organizzato ma che in fatto di esperienza nell' arte di regnare è ancora del tutto bambino. Se v'è al-  
cunche di buono negli straor-  
dinari avvenimenti d'ieri, si è l'inconsistenza dei proclamati nuovi principî, i quali, tra-  
dotti in pratica, non manche-  
ranno di ricondurre in breve tempo al migliore fra tutti i sistemi di governo, cioè alla monarchia costituzionale. Che questa offre l'unica sicura ga-  
ranzia per il benessere dell' intera umanità, trovò da noi piena conferma, ad onta delle politiche vicende dell' ultimo decennio.

„Ma se da una parte noi con-  
danniamo le teorie di Winter-  
hoff, dall' altra dobbiamo pur riconoscere il modo nobile e pacifico con cui le medesime vennero applicate. Se tutte

(Translation.)

“The twentieth century opens with a startling political earthquake. Without a word of warning the control of half of Europe passes into the hands of a society which, however well organized, is totally ignorant of the science of government. We can see but one good to result from the events of yesterday—namely, that the very absurdity of the theories upon which the new society is based will lead to a speedy demonstration of their fallacy and a quicker return to the principles of a limited monarchical government, our faith in which, as the strongest and safest political bulwark for mankind, has never wavered through all the changes and chances of the past ten years. But while condemning the Winterhoff theory *in toto*, we cannot but commend the public order and decorum with which it has been put into operation. Could all popular revolutions be as peacefully accomplished, the world at large would have less to dread at the hands of

le rivoluzioni politiche si ope-  
rassero in guisa così pacifica,  
il mondo non avrebbe più  
luogo di temere di dover ser-  
vir più a lungo come campo  
di prova a quegli ambiziosi  
che a danno ed inganno de'  
concittadini che in loro confi-  
dano, tentano mandare ad ef-  
fetto teorie non ancora ma-  
ture, o confuse e spesso insen-  
sate."

ambitious and unscrupulous  
political leaders, anxious to  
put on trial some favorite  
scheme or theory at the ex-  
pense of their confiding but  
deluded fellow-citizens."

From the Madrid *Imparcial* (same date).

(Original.)

„ A pesar de todo cuanto la  
prensa republicana escribió y  
pronosticó en los últimos 5  
años respecto á la tendencia  
política hácia la república  
universal, todo lector del  
, *Imparcial* ' será no ménos  
sorprendido que nosotros á la  
vista de los telégramas de hoy,  
tanto de Berlin como de Viena  
y de Petersburgo.

„ Despues de todos esos su-  
cesos tan turbulentos en los úl-  
timos años habíamos de estar  
ya predispuestos á todo, no  
obstante un alzar tan repen-  
tino del telon ante una Eu-  
ropa del Norte y del Este to-  
talmente trasformada no pudo  
ménos de dejar estupefacto al  
espectador distante.—Parece  
casi increíble que el facto sea  
el resultado de una agitacion  
asídua y prolongada, y la ex-

(Translation.)

“Notwithstanding all that  
has been said and written by  
the Republican press of Eu-  
rope during the last five years  
in regard to ‘the tendencies  
of the times,’ every reader of  
the *Imparcial* will be over-  
whelmed with surprise on  
reading the dispatches from  
Berlin, Vienna, and St. Peters-  
burg, to which we give so  
much space this morning.  
After the events of the last  
decade, it is true that the  
world has been prepared for  
almost anything that savors  
of the incredible in political  
affairs; but the sudden lifting  
of the curtain to disclose the  
existence, throughout Eastern  
Europe, of such an organiza-  
tion as that described by the  
telegrams almost baffles be-  
lief, and resembles more the

presion de la voluntad de una poblacion de unos 200 millones agitada y preparada para tal fin desde hace muchísimo tiempo. Pronto llegaremos á saber si ese tan admirado Winterhoff sea en realidad el , Moise' que llevará sus fieles del desierto de formas gubernamentales contendientes y de estériles teorías al Canaan de la fraternidad universal, ó si acaso bajo el modesto hábito del apóstol se esconde la toga purpúrea de un Cesar!"

creation of an enchanter's wand than the preconceived uprising of a majority of nearly two hundred millions of people. We shall see whether this Winterhoff is the Moses who is to lead his people out of the wilderness of conflicting theories of government into the Canaan of a universal Brotherhood of man, or whether, under the coarse robe of 'the apostle,' he conceals the purple toga of a Cæsar."

From the Paris *Temps* (same date).

(Original.)

„ Les revanches du temps ne manquent jamais à ceux qui sont patients et qui savent les attendre ; ainsi dans toute l'histoire ne se trouve-t-il aucune réprimande plus forte à l'arrogance de l'Impérialisme, comme on la voyait à Versailles le Dix-Huit Janvier 1871 que l'image d'un Winterhoff, proclamant la République Universelle de la même fenêtre du palais où le monarch Prussien se posait autrefois selon son habitude pour répondre aux adulations serviles de la populace Berlinoise.

„ Mais la France républicaine, déjà longtemps satisfaite

(Translation.)

"Time inevitably brings its revenges to those who are patient and can wait, and history furnishes no more striking rebuke to Imperial arrogance, as exhibited on the eighteenth of January, 1871, at Versailles, than the picture of Winterhoff proclaiming the Universal Republic from the same palace window at which the Prussian monarch was wont to stand and acknowledge the servile adulations of the Berlin populace.

"But republican France, long since satisfied by the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine, the repayment of the milliards, and the ignominious downfall

par la reprise de l'Alsace-Lorraine, par le remboursement de ses milliards et par la chute ignominieuse à Bietigheim du despotisme militaire Allemand, n'a aucun besoin de considérer les événements d'hier comme une nouvelle humiliation infligée par le cours du temps sur son ennemi ancien ; plutôt doit-elle les regarder avec cette vive inquiétude qu'éprouve chaque peuple dévoué à la cause de la liberté humaine, et du gouvernement populaire, en voyant cette cause mise en danger ailleurs par la précipitation et l'imprudence, poussées, soit par des théoristes fanatiques, soit par des démagogues ambitieux. A laquelle de ces deux classes Winterhoff appartient, l'avenir seul saura nous dire. A l'heure qu'il est, il est probablement trop tard pour espérer que les peuples de l'Europe de l'Est reviendront sur le chemin qu'ils ont pris. La République des Corporations paraît être un fait accompli, et il n'y a maintenant qu'à la laisser comparaître devant le tribunal du monde, pour revendiquer, si bien elle le peut, son droit à être reconnue comme modèle d'un système de gouvernement pour l'homme."

of German military despotism at Bietigheim, need not regard the events of yesterday in the light of a further humiliation inflicted by the lapse of time upon her ancient foe, but rather with that keen solicitude which every people devoted to the cause of human freedom and of popular government must feel in seeing that cause imperilled in other lands through hasty and misguided action, instigated by fanatical theorists or ambitious demagogues. To which of these classes Winterhoff belongs the future alone can say. It is now, perhaps, too late to hope that the people of Eastern Europe will recede from the step they have taken. The Republic of the Guilds appears to be a *fait accompli*, and it now only remains for it to stand trial, and vindicate to the world at large, if it can, its claims to recognition as the model system of government for mankind."

From the London *Times* (same date).

"If the English reader needed any further proof of the imbecility of the Republican leaders in Eastern Europe, it has been furnished by the monstrous blunder of yesterday. It is evident that the entire population has gone mad, that no minority exists which is worthy of the name, and that all the men who have been prominently identified with the provisional governments since the downfall of the empires are now either actively participating, or at all events silently acquiescing in the inauguration of the new *régime*. That Winterhoff, a scheming fanatic, with

enough of the strolling player about him to beguile the ear of the masses, should have succeeded in gaining such an ascendancy is all but incredible, and will always remain an unexplained page in history. But that he should have beguiled the leaders as well can only be accounted for by the theory that a universal madness has seized upon the populace, prompting them to betake themselves to that political path which leads by the surest and most direct route to the brink of the precipice of destruction. *Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*"

From the Extra New York *Herald* (January 1st, 1900).

"To-day's events at Berlin, Vienna, and St. Petersburg, which we publish in full special dispatches herewith, are too momentous, too pregnant with consequences, for judgment to be passed upon them in a cursory way. Suffice it for the present to say that this popular uprising is the most wonderful instance of a perfect political organization ever recorded in history, and stamps its projector,

Emanuel Winterhoff, as a master mind. But to organize governments is one thing, to administer them quite another; and while giving the new Republic of the Guilds a fervent 'God-speed,' the *Herald* will await with curiosity and interest the outcome of the great popular demonstration which the dawn of the twentieth century has ushered in upon Europe."

I have deemed it best to devote so much time to reading you these extracts for the reason that they afford a correct reflex of the varied opinion of that day on the subject of Winterhoff and his Republic of the Guilds. We find the people of the Republic itself jubilant and hopeful ; the French patronizing and mistrustful ; the Italians and Spanish skeptical, and John Bull loudly denouncing the new *régime*. In this country people viewed the matter much as the French did—that is, wished the new republic long life and success, but preferred to wait awhile before considering it even a probable permanency.

That Winterhoff should be chosen President was a foregone conclusion ; that he promptly declined any office and remained a simple member of a shoemakers' guild at Cassel, his birthplace, was a bitter disappointment to his followers and a scathing rebuke to his detractors. It has, however, since been shown incontestably that under the modest guise he had chosen he continued to be the chief adviser and counsellor of those to whom the rulership was intrusted. The second choice of Chief Magistrate fell upon Herr Endry, a Hungarian, who had during many years' service in the Diet advocated republican principles with dignity, firmness, and tact, and who now addressed himself with all the ardor and ability at his command to the enormous task before him—a task which, however, was greatly facilitated, in its earlier stages, by the unanimity and enthusiasm with which the people themselves assisted in its performance, not only by their active support, but by carefully abstaining from raising

any entangling or embarrassing questions of personal rights or privileges to hamper the successful introduction of the new system. At that period the people appear to have been ready to bear uncomplainingly great inconveniences, and to make unhesitatingly great sacrifices in their blind devotion to the success of the cause they had espoused. Under the kindly warmth of such a sunlight, what plant would not blossom and bloom? Where all consent to bear and forbear, where sacrifices are held to be privileges, and trials to be glories, the path of the ruler is simple and easy indeed. And so it proved in the early days of the Republic of the Guilds.

The system went into operation with an ease and rapidity which astonished the world scarcely less than had its inauguration, and ere the year 1900 reached its close the transfer of all property to the State had been substantially effected, the Government storehouses were generally established, people were finding a ready market for everything they could produce or manufacture, and in general, to all outward appearances at least, a more than average degree of prosperity and contentment prevailed. Silver and gold had disappeared as a medium of exchange, barter and trade between individuals had ceased, all purchases, sales, leases, or loans were made from or to the State, and all values were measured in "labor tickets" issued by the State and representing one, two, three, five, ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred days' labor of eight hours each. Let us suppose, for instance, that Tailors' Guild No. 10 of Berlin turned in at Government



Storehouse No. 3 one thousand coats the aggregate labor on which amounted to, say, twelve thousand hours, or fifteen hundred eight-hour days. They were therefore credited with the equivalent in "labor tickets." The materials—*i. e.*, the cloth, lining, fittings, etc.—had been previously debited to the Guild from this same storehouse, with which all its transactions must be had, and the amount of these materials, when returned in the form of finished coats, was credited back to the Guild, which consequently, at the conclusion of the transaction, found itself in possession of fifteen hundred one-day "labor tickets" as its net earnings on the thousand coats. Now these labor tickets were exchangeable at the storehouse for flour, for salt, for shoes—in short, for any sort of merchandise or provisions. Sometimes the tickets were simply credited to the Guild, and not issued at all, the account being balanced by provisions and merchandise. Let us now suppose further that Tailors' Guild No. 10 was composed of five hundred members—namely, one hundred and fifty apprentices, the same number of craftsmen, and two hundred master workmen, and that upon the labor of these five hundred two thousand others, young and old, were dependent for support, thus making the Guild in question the representative of twenty-five hundred consumers in the community. Allowing now five hundred men to work twenty-six days in the month, at an average of ten hours per day, we have a total of one hundred and thirty thousand hours' work, or sixteen thousand two hundred and fifty one-day (eight-

hour) labor tickets ; for it must be borne in mind that the adoption of eight hours as a legal measure for one day's work did not prevent men from working twenty hours per day if they wished to and could stand it. At the end of a given month, then, the Guild had so many one-day tickets to its credit, representing the aggregate of the amount credited on its books to the individual workmen for what they had done during the month. Thus A, for instance, was credited with thirty-two days, B with twenty-nine days, C, an idle or inferior workman, with only twenty days, and so on. In this way the necessities of twenty-five hundred consumers were met for one month by sixteen thousand two hundred and fifty days' labor, or for a thirtieth of one month—*i. e.*, for one day—by five hundred and forty-one (omitting the fraction) days' labor. In other words, it took  $541 \times 8 = 4328$  hours' work per day to support the twenty-five hundred persons for that day, or  $1\frac{7}{15}$  hours' work to the support of one person ; but the five hundred workers could easily put in an average ten hours per day each, or an aggregate of five thousand hours daily, and this excess would fairly represent the aggregate of gain acquired by various individual members of the Guild through their superior proficiency or industry. But this gain it was not permitted to such more proficient or industrious workman to retain. He was obliged beyond a certain point to merge his surplus of earnings into the common fund. Take, for instance, the previously mentioned workmen, A and B. The former has six persons in his family beside himself,

or seven in all ; the latter has three, including himself. Now we have seen that it cost on the average  $1,_{75}$  hours' work to support one person per day. A therefore would on general principles have to contribute  $12,_{25}$  hours per day, or thirty times that—*i.e.*,  $367,_{5}$  hours per month to support his seven people, while B, with only three to support, would be ordinarily liable for only  $5,_{25}$  hours per day, or  $157,_{5}$  hours in the month. Now A, though a skilful and industrious workman, only received, as we have seen, at the end of the month, even with his best endeavors, credit for thirty-two days of eight hours—*i. e.*, two hundred and fifty-six hours, leaving him  $111,_{5}$  hours short for the support of his seven people, while B received credit for twenty-nine days of eight hours—*i. e.*, two hundred and thirty-two hours, or a surplus of  $74,_{5}$  hours over and above his and his family's actual needs. Hence an equalization was necessary, and here came in the province of the master of the Guild, who assigned so much monthly *pro rata, per capita* for the maintenance of the twenty-five hundred people dependent on the Guild for support, basing the rate upon the yield of the previous month, after making allowance for the support of non-producers, such as those employed in handling the property and keeping the accounts of the Guild, and of the sick and infirm members.

Under these circumstances, like the early Christians, they had cast in their lots together, "and all had one purse." If there was no opportunity for the accumulation of wealth, there was, on the other

hand, none for mendicancy and poverty. It was the question of labor and daily bread reduced to its primitive conditions, and Winterhoff, to his credit be it said, is reported to have labored and taken his labor tickets with the rest of them.

I could devote hours, and even days, to recounting to you the innumerable and perplexing problems and curious dilemmas which were constantly presenting themselves for discussion and solution under the new order of things. Even those which had been theretofore considered the most trivial transactions of every-day life came to be invested with endless formalities. I recall one instance, mentioned by Wilkinson in his able work entitled "Winterhoff and His Republic," where a member of a carpenters' guild in Prague took to wife the daughter of a farmer's guild in Silesia. The marriage ceremony itself was performed by the Grand Master at Prague in five minutes, but the formalities attending the transfer of responsibility for the bride's support from the guild in Silesia to the guild in Prague ran on for two years or more, and by that time the bride had died. Let me refer you for much detailed information on this interesting subject not only to Mr. Wilkinson's work, but also to Lowe's "Germany under the Guilds" and Hopkinton's "Europe in the Year 1900."

And yet, at the risk of tiring your patience, I must ask leave to quote a short passage from Mr. Lowe's book, as an instance showing the difficulty experienced in applying the system of universal equality and equal rights in a community.

"In the month of October, 1901," he writes, "a troublesome dispute arose in the little town of Tölz, in Southern Bavaria. One Haeferli, master of a guild of wood-carvers, appeared at the Government storehouse on a certain day when a fat ox had been slaughtered, and called for the *filet*, or choicest part of the beef (*Schlachtbraten*). The master of the farmers' guild which had turned in the ox interposed, saying that he had already bespoken the *filet* for himself. At the same time, a master workman of a millers' guild put in a third claim for the *filet*, saying that he had walked five miles that morning in order to be there in time and secure it for his convalescent wife, who needed strengthening food. As neither of the three claimants was disposed to yield in his pretensions, the agent offered to compromise by cutting the *filet* into three equal parts, and giving one to each, a proposition which each rejected, alleging that the third part would not be sufficient. The agent then proposed to draw lots. To this the three vigorously objected, on the ground that it did not solve the intrinsic question of their respective equal rights to the *filet*. The agent, being in a quandary, called upon the keeper of the storehouse (*Verwaller*) for a decision. The latter perceived at a glance that the question was a troublesome one, and vainly appealed to the claimants to compromise it in some way among themselves. The miller then offered to pay an extra price of a one-day labor-ticket per kilo for the *filet*. He was promptly accused of conduct subversive of the public order by the two masters, and directed to report under charges to the master of his own guild. He refused to obey the order. The *Verwaller* then endeavored to allay the dispute by arguing that the *filet* was no better than the rest of the beef, that it was only a question of taste, etc. ; but the three persisted in their demands, each claiming an equal right to the choice morsel. There was no recourse save to refer the matter to the Grand Master for that district, who happened to live in Tölz. He, too, saw that the question was a delicate one to handle, especially as in the mean time a considerable throng of good republicans had gathered around the storehouse, evincing a jealous interest in the decision of this question of equal rights. The Grand Master was by no means a Solomon, but he decided the question on the principle of 'first come, first served,' and the

*filet* was accordingly awarded to the master of the farmers' guild, who had asked for it when he brought in the ox. To this the master of the wood-carvers took a demurrer on the ground that the other claimant's request had been put in prematurely. This demurrer was sustained by the Council when it convened in the following month at Munich, and the Tölz Grand Master's decision was set aside. He, in turn, then appealed to the Conclave, which reversed the Council's decision and sustained his. Thus the case was carried up till it finally came before President Endry, who decided that in a Republic, where all citizens were free and equal, only a spirit of mutual forbearance and concession could prevent the constant recurrence of such perplexing questions as this. He directed that the two masters be publicly reprimanded, while the poor miller who had offered to pay more than the tariff price for the tender morsel was sentenced to bread and water for a month. As to who was adjudged to be entitled to the *filet*, or who, in fact, actually got it, I have never been able to ascertain."

The incident thus described occurred at a time when the Republic of the Guilds had been already nearly two years in operation. It proves that the path of the leaders was by no means plain or smooth, and induces the belief that it must have begun to be apparent to the thinking ones that so soon as the novelty had passed away, so soon as the universal spirit of good-will and mutual concession which had marked the inauguration of the new *régime* had worn off, so soon as the selfish rivalries of human nature had resumed their wonted sway, from that day would the danger of disintegration begin. And, as a matter of fact, the novelty had begun to wear off and people were beginning, not exactly to complain of the many minor inconveniences in daily life which the new *régime* involved, but to think

very tenderly and longingly of the former days when guilds were private corporations, and when the surplus proceeds of an intelligent or skilful man's labor went to his own benefit, and not to make up for the dulness or ignorance of a fellow-laborer. Theory was one thing, practice was quite another. The murmurings begun to be audible, and the authorities became consequently more harsh, which, in turn, only gave added force to the murmurings. In the spring of 1903 Winterhoff, summoned, as is now generally believed, by the apprehensive leaders, suddenly emerged from his seclusion and reappeared at Berlin, where he addressed the populace with all his old-time fervor and eloquence. He thence began a journey over the route which he had followed in 1899, and was everywhere received with enthusiastic professions of love and veneration. His progress from city to city might have been one continuous triumphal ovation had he not, by his dislike for display, silently discouraged all demonstrations of personal homage. It was evident that his popularity and influence were undiminished ; if the public had fault to find, it was with the system, not with its founder. The tenor of Winterhoff's preaching was plainly inspired by the suggestions of the anxious leaders. He urged conciliation, forbearance, good-will, a subordination of personal interest and comfort to the public good and the welfare of humanity. He preached a gospel of genuine fraternity. It was a doctrine good for the angels, but alas ! he was addressing audiences who were only mortal. There is no question but that

this his second journey proved a wonderful revival movement, and dissipated many dark shadows which had begun to hover low over the devoted leaders' heads. Other things being equal, it is quite probable that so long as Winterhoff lived, he might have been able by these periodical circuits to put off the evil day of dissolution for his political foundling. But meanwhile other and unforeseen events—it is always the unforeseen that accomplishes most in history—stepped in to demonstrate “the Apostle's” fallacies, and to precipitate a result which, sooner or later, would have been inevitable.

“Man proposes, God disposes.” How trite, yet nevertheless how true, the proverb! It was not ordained in the providence of the great Ruler of mankind that this Republic of the Guilds, cradled though it was in the prayers and tears and sincere affections of so many millions of His creatures, should endure upon the face of the earth. And yet, in what a strange and unforeseen way was its downfall brought about! Truly,

“God moves in a mysterious way  
His wonders to perform.”

In the summer of the year 1903 there began to be rumors of a probable failure of the harvest throughout northern and central Europe. The rains in May and June had been incessant and, as results proved, fatal to the grain and hay crops, which turned out to be only about one third of an average annual yield. The widespread Hungarian wheat-fields along the lower Danube suffered with the rest, while in northern Germany the total crop



was smaller than any that had been gathered in half a century. The distress which ensued, first among the agricultural guilds, then among all the others, was incalculable. The tailors continued to turn in coats ; the cobblers, shoes ; the joiners, furniture, etc. ; but the farmers brought in only small quantities of grain, and it was discovered that they were secretly hoarding considerable stocks of it, as a provision against future starvation. Under these circumstances, what were the tailors, cobblers, and joiners to do ? The Conclaves convened in their respective sections, and seeing the danger, endeavored to take prompt action by borrowing large consignments of flour and breadstuffs from guilds in the Crimea and other sections where the crops had been good and a surplus existed. In a spirit of true brotherhood these loans were made, the manner and time of compensation being left to future settlement. Enormous stocks of provisions were thus brought into the starving districts, without drawing upon any region outside that of the Republic of the Guilds. These stocks were distributed and charged to the Grand Guilds, which in turn supervised their distribution to the Guilds under them, and so the gaunt spectre of famine was for a time averted. But the remedy was only a temporary one. It was estimated by a well-informed writer in the *London Times* (November 14th, 1903) that the total amount of grain and breadstuffs within the territory covered by the Republic of the Guilds on the 1st day of November in that year would not be sufficient, even with careful distribution and moderate use, to sup-

port the population of the territory beyond the 1st of May in the following year, and even at that it would be necessary, argued the writer, to transport enormous stores for long distances from some districts where there was a surplus to others where there was a great deficiency.

By strenuous and harmonious efforts this distribution was effected, yet day by day the store was diminishing, and the only barrier between the people and starvation was the immediate importation of provisions from foreign lands. Had the need been confined to one section or to a limited number of population, the hand of humanity, which knows no national boundary lines, would have been stretched out without hesitation to extend speedy succor. But where, as in this case, every section with a surplus had denuded itself to supply the general deficiency and had thus equalized the degree of need over a vast extent of territory, the work of relief was too great for human charity to undertake, no matter how boundless its benevolence. Many generous contributions were indeed sent in, especially from England and America. A stone-masons' association in London collected funds sufficient to send a thousand barrels of flour to the stone-masons of Frankfort; an ironworkers' association at New York sent a similar shipment to its brethren of that craft at Berlin. But the provisions, on arrival, were taken possession of by the State, and turned into the public warehouses for general distribution with the rest. The stone-masons and ironworkers murmured, but they were not yet hungry enough

to dispute the enforcement of what was recognized as their common law. The incident, however, put a damper on foreign philanthropy, and no more presents of a thousand barrels of flour were reported. Meanwhile, early in December matters had begun to grow serious. The Government storehouses everywhere were overstocked with wares and merchandise of all descriptions, requiring in the larger cities the use of largely increased facilities for their storage. There was an abundance of everything but the one thing most needful—bread—and the supply of that was daily diminishing. Idleness reigned in every branch of trade and industry ; men with nothing to do and little to eat grew to be malcontents, and began to ask who was to blame ; mortality and crime, especially in the cities, increased alarmingly ; masters noticed that their workmen obeyed them with less alacrity than before ; and in presence of all these signs, what were the leaders to do ? Their first wish was to keep the real state of affairs as far as possible from the knowledge of the public ; their second, to form some plan whereby enough provisions could be bought, borrowed, or begged from abroad in season to raft them over the emergency, until the gathering of the new crop. It was a perilous and almost desperate situation at best. The President, Vice-President, and Electors held a secret meeting at Vienna to devise ways and means, and, by urgent invitation, Winterhoff was present. In this meeting, if rumor be true, the leaders, with one exception, frankly confessed to each other their delusion,

and acknowledged the utter impotency of their system of government to deal with the momentous question now presented to it. Vain overtures had been made to foreign capitalists and speculators for loans of funds or provisions to be secured by triple their actual value in the innumerable kinds of merchandise lying stored and unproductive in the Guild warehouses. Nobody would listen to the proposition. Several wealthy Jewish bankers, whose opinions on political matters, as shown by their investments, had invariably proved correct, had not only declined to make loans on any terms, but had predicted the speedy overthrow of the entire system. The situation, in short, was hopeless, and the leaders were obliged to confess it.

But at this juncture Emanuel Winterhoff, ever hopeful, ever fertile in resource, broke the silence of their despair. "I will go in person to America," he said, "and appeal to our brethren there to save us. Such an appeal has never yet been made to them in vain."

The leaders clutched at the straw, but there was no time to be lost. Without his departure having become generally known, Winterhoff landed in New York in the middle of January (1904), and at once presented his credentials to various prominent members of charitable organizations and of the Masonic order. He found public sympathy already ripe in behalf of his suffering people, and he lost no time in letting it be understood that whatever was to be done in the way of their relief must be done quickly. "*Bis dat qui cito dat*" was the significant

device displayed at the Metropolitan Opera House above the stage where Winterhoff addressed a crowded assemblage of the *élite* of the city, speaking in good English ; and as the result a round hundred thousand dollars was subscribed before the meeting adjourned. The details of this rapid mid-winter journey of Winterhoff through the States reads like a romance to one glancing over the papers of that period. It was the grandest exhibition of human charity and open-handed generosity ever witnessed. In Chicago audiences, ladies took diamonds and pearls from their fingers and ears and threw them to Winterhoff with passionate exclamations of blessings on his cause. The man's energy was untiring. He seemed sustained and inspired by a strength more than human. Before he had been a month in America over a million dollars' worth of wheat, corn, and flour had been shipped to Bremen, Hamburg, and Stettin, and to Trieste and Odessa, and another million was guaranteed as forthcoming. Alas ! in the midst of the enthusiasm which this noble outpouring of generosity evoked all over the world, there came sad news to Winterhoff. As he was nearing San Francisco a telegram was handed him conveying the alarming intelligence that the populace at Budapest had sacked the Government warehouses for bread. The cravings of hunger, the mute appeals of starving women and children, had proved more potent than any desire for law and order, and the movement begun at the Hungarian centre spread like wildfire to all the larger cities, and in time to the towns and villages.

It was the knell of the Republic of the Guilds. Winterhoff remained in San Francisco only long enough to address a promised assemblage, and started eastward again next day, intending to take the first steamer back to Europe. But his anxiety and disappointment at the almost certain overthrow of his cherished hopes, following so close upon such constant physical exposure and exertions, were too much for even his exceptional strength, and on the second day of his journey he was removed from the cars to a hotel at Ogden, where, three days later, and among strangers, he quietly breathed his last. A simple slab in the cemetery at that place, inscribed with a square and compass, his name and the dates of his birth and death, is all that remains to show the last resting-place of the remains of this truly remarkable man.

The news of his death removed whatever lingering hope may have been entertained anywhere for the perpetuity of the Republic of the Guilds. The entire fabric vanished, faded out of existence as suddenly as, four years before, it had been conjured up by Winterhoff's magic wand. Upon the period of anarchy and suffering that followed I am indeed reluctant to dwell. What time had men to think of public order and a new Government when the wolf was at their doors? What voice had a Master or a Grand Master beside a family of helpless ones crying for bread? Had it not been for the relief so promptly sent from America, nothing short of the miraculous interposition of Providence could have saved hundreds of thousands from starvation. As

it was, even with the most strenuous efforts and most liberal contributions, not only from the United States, but from South America and East India, the famine was not entirely averted. History repeated itself, and, as in the days of ancient Rome, immense numbers of people from the north of Europe became wanderers in search of sustenance.

Organized protection to person and property came for a time to be a thing of the past. Every individual protected himself as well as he could against his neighbor ; each village organized as best it could for protection against the adjoining ones, the rural regions against depredations from the cities ; in short, chaos and destitution reigned supreme. Yet the criminal records of that period show, in the main, a praiseworthy absence of violence and bloodshed. The year 1904 brought a bountiful harvest, which, with the enormous quantity of provisions sent in from other lands, tended to restore the equilibrium, and relieve public anxiety on the all-important question of sustenance. But the other great question—namely, as to how and when and by whom any semblance of organized government was to be restored, seemed up to the end of 1904 no nearer than ever. Many thoughtful minds were groping to find a way out of the political darkness of the period ; many ambitious men were pondering schemes which would bring them at this juncture to prominence and power. Finally, the scions of the imperial houses of Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, and Romanoff, thinking that their time had come again, and that their people had seen the error of their ways,

each issued manifestoes from the lands of their exile assuring their subjects of their unswerving devotion to their interests, and avowing their belief in an early recall to thrones from which they had respectively been deposed. But these pretensions passed unheeded. However bitter their experiences, the people, once possessed of liberty, were not willing to bow their necks once more to the iron yoke of imperialism. The first tangible movement toward a reorganization of the body politic took place early in February, 1905, when a Convention, composed of two delegates from each of the Oberamts or counties which had formerly constituted the kingdom of Württemberg, assembled at Stuttgart “to organize a provisional Government for the protection of the public welfare.” This was followed by similar movements throughout the entire territory of the German guilds. Republican ideas were still largely dominant, and the character of the new provisional governments, upon which were to be based the permanent ones to follow them, was from the outset understood as to be determined in accordance with the principles of free popular government. In most cases this movement involved simply a return to the political *status* preceding Winterhoff’s proclamation, but with this difference, that it was only considered as temporary, and that the people were now resolved to go farther, and establish a permanent system of republican Government modelled after that of the United States of America. This Canaan of permanency Württemberg, as she had taken the initiative, was the first to reach. A Con-



stitution based on that of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and almost similar to it throughout, was framed by the Convention referred to, and being submitted to the people, was adopted without any considerable opposition. Elections were held under it in November of the same year, and with the beginning of 1906 the new Government went into operation, with cordial expressions of confidence and good-will from most of the foreign powers, as well as its sister States of Germany. The latter sooner or later followed suit. In several instances smaller duchies and principalities blotted out their ancient feudal boundary lines and organized themselves into a single State. This work of reorganization not only required time—it could never have been effected had not the people themselves been willing to sacrifice their cherished traditions in regard to local names and boundaries in order to bring it about. Even as it was, so slowly did it progress that it was not until the summer of 1909 that every foot of what had previously been the German Empire could be said to belong to one or another of the new Republican States. In August of that year the following was published as the proposed basis of representation at a convention to be held at Leipzig by the twenty-one States to discuss the project of a Confederacy similar to that of the United States of America.

STATE.	AREA REDUCED TO ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION.		Number of Represent- atives.
		CENSUS OF 1880.	CENSUS OF 1890.	
Bavaria.....	28,870	5,271,516	5,864,225	20
Rhineland.....	10,289	4,074,100	4,328,119	15
Silesia.....	15,666	4,007,925	4,135,266	14
Brandenburg.....	15,505	3,389,155	3,767,774	13
Saxony.....	6,777	2,970,220	3,226,997	11
Hanover.....	14,846	2,120,168	2,481,386	9
Westphalia.....	7,771	2,043,242	2,365,222	8
Württemberg.....	7,675	1,970,132	2,116,448	8
East Prussia.....	14,729	1,933,936	2,005,116	7
Posen.....	11,330	1,703,397	1,954,777	7
Baden.....	5,851	1,570,189	1,862,665	7
Pommerania.....	12,130	1,540,034	1,599,778	6
Thuringia*.....	5,651	1,465,215	1,590,211	6
West Prussia.....	10,151	1,405,898	1,501,809	6
Schleswig-Holstein..	8,524	1,127,149	1,225,208	5
Hesse†.....	3,332	1,007,447	1,260,344	5
Mecklenburg‡.....	6,091	740,667	908,622	4
Brunswick§.....	2,183	504,977	691,437	3
Hamburg.....	148	454,041	680,555	3
Oldenburg.....	2,417	337,454	401,296	2
Bremen.....	106	156,229	208,639	1
Totals.....	190,042	39,793,091	44,175,894	160

The Leipzig Convention, which assembled in January, 1910, was a memorable body, not only on account of the great ability and statesmanship of the delegates composing it, but still more on account of the wise and moderate counsels which guided its deliberations throughout. The fever of political passions had now passed; the people had

\* Including Weimar, Meiningen, Coburg-Gotha, both Reuss, the Schwarzburgs, Altenburg, and Anhalt.

† Including Darmstadt, Cassel, Nassau, and Waldeck.

‡ With Lubeck.

§ Including Lippe and Schaumburg-Lippe.

learned by bitter experience that experiments in government are costly, and they came now with once accord together, as our forefathers did in the days of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, to frame a constitution founded on justice and common sense, which should endure for all time. Thus, on the 6th of March, 1910, was ushered into existence our sister Republic, the United States of Europe, with a constitution modelled after our own; and the universal enthusiasm with which the day has ever since been annually celebrated throughout that Union, and especially by the people of its original twenty-one States, is the best evidence that its free institutions are ineradicably planted in the popular heart. The beneficent influences of those institutions have already shown themselves in a stoppage of German immigration, in a higher standard of intelligence and knowledge among their laboring and peasant classes, in an increased independence and self-respect among the middle classes, in a new and heightened sphere of usefulness for the press, in greater activity in scientific discoveries and industrial pursuits, and in a widespread and well-grounded commercial prosperity. These are what a republican *régime* has brought to United Germany during the last quarter of a century.

In Russia the Republicans appeared to lack organizing power; they seem to have been undecided and vacillating, and to have hesitated to cast in their lot with the new confederacy, the majority favoring an exclusively Muscovite Republic, and urging the difference in language and religious creeds as their argument in its support. But mean-

while Poland, ever ardent for liberty, and wearied with long years of oppression, had organized into two States, which were admitted to the Union within two months after its formation. Hungary and Bohemia followed; then the Austrian and Balkan provinces; and within little over a year eighteen new States, with an aggregate of nearly sixty millions of people, had enrolled themselves on the list of the United States of Europe—viz. :

STATE.	AREA IN ENGLISH SQUARE MILES.	POPULATION IN 1890.	ADMITTED TO THE UNION.
Upper Poland.....	25,454	3,425,889	June 19. 1910
Lower Poland.....	23,703	3,120,532	“ “ “
Bohemia.....	20,060	5,860,819	August 30. “
North Hungary.....	24,629	3,588,905	September 28. “
South Hungary.....	22,335	4,166,885	“ “ “
East Hungary.....	28,441	2,635,661	“ “ “
West Hungary.....	28,411	3,995,281	“ “ “
Lower Austria.....	7,654	2,530,621	October 4. “
Upper Austria.....	7,398	1,023,190	“ “ “
Transylvania.....	21,215	2,416,132	“ 18. “
Moravia*.....	10,570	2,918,881	January 9. 1911
Servia.....	16,600	1,550,000	“ “ “
Galicia.....	30,307	6,458,907	“ 24. “
Illyria†.....	19,615	2,991,404	“ “ “
Roumania.....	48,307	5,690,625	March 8. “
Bulgaria‡.....	37,860	3,013,214	“ 12. “
Bosnia§.....	29,187	1,888,273	“ “ “
Montenegro.....	3,550	265,956	“ “ “
TOTALS.....	405,296	57,541,175	

\* Including Austrian Silesia.

† Composed of the former provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Küstenland.

‡ With Roumelia.

§ Composed of Bosnia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Novi-Bazar.

What had been known as the Austrial Tyrol applied in September, 1910, for admission to the Swiss Federal Union, and was in the following year so admitted, after having been organized into the four Cantons since known as Vorarlberg, Innsbruck, Tyrol, and Trent.

Thus, in twenty years after the echoes of Bietigheim's guns have died away, behold how all the scene has changed ! By the will of the people of Eastern Europe, expressed through their ballots, there has grown up, not as did the guild Republic, in a single day, but by the slow and gradual processes of careful deliberation, a Union of thirty-nine sovereign States, each represented by two Senators and its proportional number of Deputies, in the Congress which annually assembles at the Capitol at Linz. When we reflect that the largest State in area—Roumania—is about equal in territory and population to the State of New York, and that the largest in population—Galicia—does not exceed in that regard the State of Illinois before it was divided into two States a few years ago ; when we recall the fact that most of the States of the new Union are governed by constitutions framed after those of different States of our own ; when I tell you that Bohemia's is modelled on that of Colorado (*applause*), both the Polands' on that of Vermont, and Thuringia's on that of Ohio, you will perceive how great a similarity exists in many respects between the Young Republic and the Old. I say "in many respects," because in some others they have improved upon us and taught us lessons which

we in turn have not been slow to learn. Had it not been for the practical example which they set, we should probably have been using the cumbrous old-time system of Presidential electors instead of a direct popular vote, and choosing our President for four instead of six-year terms to this day.

With Russia, as you are aware, it has been quite another story. The dream of a Muscovite Republic has been but a dream, and one which gives no promise of realization. Even a casual glance at the geography and social statistics of the vast territory covered in Europe and Asia by the single name “Russia” suffices to show that the existing conditions for the organization of a government of any kind are varied, peculiar, and totally different from those which prevailed in Germany and Austria. For instance, Russia in Europe alone is two thirds as large as all our States and Territories put together, while Russia in Asia is nearly twice as large. The proportion of our total area to that of Russia is about as 3<sub>5</sub> to 8<sub>2</sub>; that of our population, 11 (according to our census of 1920) to 13. The distribution of their one hundred and thirty millions, however, is very unequal. In Siberia there is but one person and in Central Asia but four persons to every square mile, while European Russia, which contains nearly ninety per cent of the total population, has an average of about thirty-five people to the square mile, or about the same as in the State of Michigan. Glance, moreover, at the varied character of the Russian population. Over a million are roving Cossacks, with about as much

capacity for organizing or profiting by a stable Republican Government as has an Arrapahoe Indian. About fifty millions belong to the two races of emancipated crown peasants and serfs, who, in spite of their seventy years of freedom, have not perceptibly advanced on the road to intelligence and a capacity for governing themselves. Some twenty-five millions more of the Russian population are peasants, somewhat better educated of late years than formerly, yet densely ignorant in comparison with our average countrymen. Now, taking these elements into consideration, and remembering how thinly the population is spread out in villages scattered over this vast expanse of territory, it is plainly to be seen that, the iron hand of an absolute hereditary ruler having been once removed, the danger of a relapse into anarchy was undeniable. So long as the "People's Union" held together, peace had prevailed ; but, its mission once accomplished, and the emperor dethroned, the Bund lost the vigor and harmony which its aim had thitherto imparted to its action, and drifted away into intrigues and disputes which continued up to the time of Winterhoff's proclamation. The Guild movement found a hearty support in the Russian towns and cities ; but as there were at that time in all Russia only sixteen towns, with over fifty thousand inhabitants, and as the agricultural people, composing the great mass of the population, knew little and cared less about guilds so long as they were left to till their fields in peace, great discontent was caused when, in the famine year, their plethoric granaries had to

be emptied to feed “brethren” elsewhere, whom they had never seen or heard of. This planted the seeds of mistrust and disaffection toward Republicanism widespread among the Russian peasantry, and may be taken as the principal reason why the country has remained in a state of comparative political chaos to this day. And yet the national pride and power are still there. Can we doubt it when we recall how, in 1918, an advancing army of two hundred thousand hungry Chinese, which had penetrated the Russian territory as far as Tomsk, was put to rout and practically annihilated by a force of half the number of Cossacks and infantry hastily organized from various provinces to meet it? And is it not fresh in the minds of all of us that when, only ten years ago, the United States of Europe and the United States of America joined in an appeal to the people of Russia, urging upon them unity as the only means of securing permanent prosperity, their sensitive national pride resented the appeal as an act of undue interference from outsiders, and an attempt to tamper with what they termed “the Muscovite idea”? Truly the condition of Russia is to-day an anomaly. But let us hope that the time will yet come, and, indeed, that it may be not far distant, when the Russian people, emerging from the baneful shadows of ignorance, prejudice, and intrigue, will follow in the footsteps of their German and Austrian neighbors, and seize the golden political possibilities which Bietigheim placed within their grasp.



At this point allow me to observe that since I accepted your invitation to prepare these lectures, I have frequently regretted having undertaken to treat so comprehensive a subject as the consequences of Bietigheim within the limited space of a single discourse. For while a narration of the direct consequences of the struggle which resulted in the final overthrow of Imperialism might with propriety be confined to the subsequent course of events in the countries where Imperialism had held sway, I should wish, did time allow, to go further, and trace the indirect consequences in other lands as well. I should find pleasure in demonstrating to you that the early advent of an Italian Republic, as heralded by all the signs of the present time, the tranquillization of Spain, the wonderful industrial development and commercial and agricultural prosperity of France, and the constant growth of liberal sentiment and consequent abolition of shams in England, are all of them results flowing from one and the same cause—namely, the suppression of the bayonet power in Central and Eastern Europe, and the substitution of a well-organized, vigorous Federal Union in its stead. I should show you the incalculable benefits resulting from the general disarmament of Europe and the absorption of so many hundred thousands of soldiers, who were before consumers alone, into the ranks of the producers. I could point you to the moral influences which have been exerted upon the heathen peoples in the more remote corners of the world, not only by the continued peace in civilized Europe and America,

but by their own freedom from the incursions of European armies coming, in the pretended interests of civilization and commerce, to seize their territory as a colonial acquisition for the mother country. I could advert to the great strides made in science and the wider dissemination of general knowledge among the European masses through the agency of an unfettered press ; coming nearer home, I could proudly point you to our sister Republics, the United States of South America, of Central America, and of Mexico, all of them prosperous, well governed, and at peace with each other and the world at large, and all of them united with us in an American customs-union. I could point you, finally, to the great blessings which have been vouchsafed to our own beloved country since the present century began. If giant monopolies exist among us no longer, and if the Senate of the United States has long since been purged of the charge that it represented only such ; if our once too frequent Presidential campaigns now occur more seldom, and, instead of disgusting the world with foul attacks upon the personal characters of the respective candidates, are marked with the dignity and decorum which such an event merits ; if the general bribery of public officials has come to be a thing of the past ; if everywhere within our borders humane treatment is accorded and equal justice assured to every class, whether Caucasian, Negro, Indian, or Mongol ; if the strife between labor and capital has been long since laid to rest by the suppression of tyrannical monopolies, and through a wise system

of arbitration between employer and employed ; if greater attention is paid to providing comfortable homes for the working-classes, and to a more thorough system of sanitary inspection in our cities ; if now, regardless of his wealth or social standing, an honest man is respected as such, and a rogue is branded as a rogue ; if, finally, the tendency of wealth, so dangerously apparent in the last century, to concentrate itself in the hands of a few, has been succeeded by a more average distribution and a general tendency to equalization—is not all this, to a greater or less extent, ascribable to the retroactive influence of the New Republic in the Old World upon the Old Republic in the New ? I think you must agree with me that European republicanism, and, through it, the republicanism of the world, have lost nothing—nay, have gained much—by incorporating, here and there, into their modern structures, some of the sound materials saved from the ruins of Imperialism, such as a more wholesome regard for the law's authority, a better protection to the safety of person and property, more thorough regulations for internal government of cities, towns, and villages, a stricter accountability for officials, and many other features which I need not take time to enumerate, but all of which were bequeathed to us by defunct Imperialism through its direct heir and successor, the United States of Europe. Shall not we, too, then claim a rightful share in the glorious consequences of Bietigheim ? And, reviewing all this wondrous picture of a regenerated humanity, devoted to the arts of peace, daily ad-

vancing toward a higher standard of civilization, and fulfilling, in its general compliance with the Creator's laws, the manifest destiny of mankind, can we not recognize that the past, with all its wrong and tyranny and warfare, has been but the devious and thorny path by which an Almighty Providence has guided His creatures to the green pastures of a perfect and enduring peace ?

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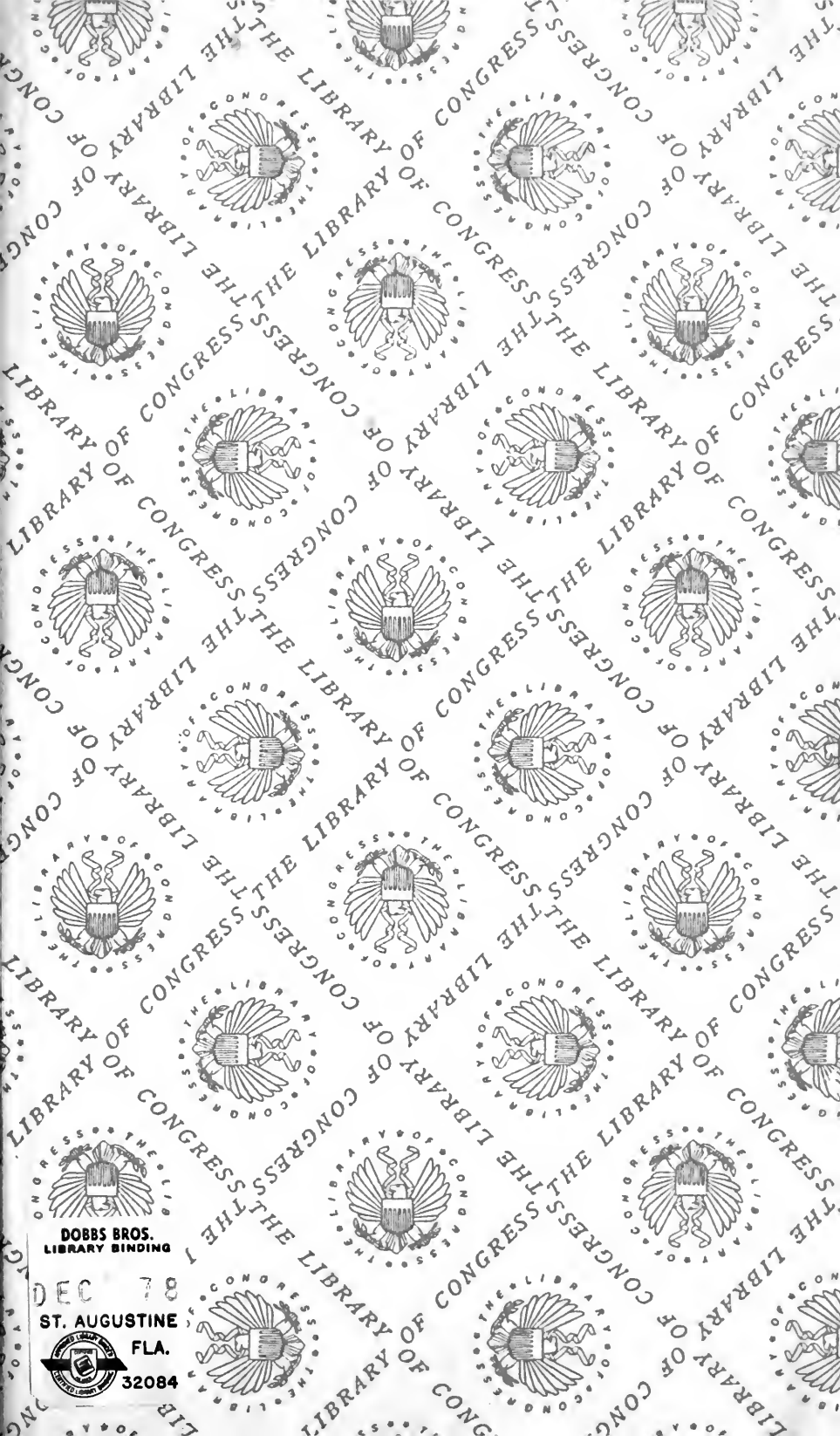


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